THE REVIEW OF RELIGION

Volume XVI NOVEMBER, 1951 Numbers 1-2

EDITOR
Horace L. Friess

MANAGING EDITOR
Marguerite Block

EDITORIAL BOARD

Roland H. Bainton
Joseph L. Blau
Joseph G. Brennan
W. Norman Brown
John Dillenberger
Arthur Jeffery
Raymond C. Knox
John T. McNeill
Clarence A. Manning
Ralph Marcus
Carl Mayer
Isaac Mendelsohn
Robert Leet Patterson
James A. Pike
Gladys A. Reichard
Cyril C. Richardson
David E. Roberts
Herbert W. Schneider
Willard L. Sperry
Ryusaku Tsunoda

The Review of Religion is published semi-annually. Subscriptions: $4.00 a year (foreign, $4.30); single copies $2.00 (foreign, $2.20). All subscriptions and business matters should be addressed to the publisher, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York City. Manuscripts, editorial communications and books for review should be addressed to the Editorial Office, 401 Low Memorial Library, Columbia University, New York City.

The articles in *The Review of Religion* are indexed in the *International Index to Periodicals*, New York City, and by the *Bulletin Analytique* and the *Bulletin des Sommaires*, Paris, France.

COPYRIGHT 1951 BY COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

ARTICLES

Creative Quiet . . . . . NICHOLAS ARSENIEV 5

The Blessing of the Sower . . . . . WILFORD O. CROSS 27

BOOK REVIEWS

Robert H. Pfeiffer: *History of New Testament Times, with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* . . . (SAMUEL TERRIEN) 40

Guido Kisch, ed. *Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* . . . . . (MOSES HADAS) 43

H. E. Butler, ed. and tr.: *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond concerning the Acts of Samson, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Edmund* . . . . . (RAY C. PETRY) 44

Walter Nigg: *Great Saints* and *Das Buch der Ketzer* . . . . . (Roland H. Bainton) 49

Walter McIntosh Merrill: *From Statesman to Philosopher: A Study in Bolingbroke's Deism* . . (Albert L. Hammond) 55

Joseph L. Blau, ed.: *Cornerstones of Religious Freedom in America* . . . . . (Willis Moore) 60

Leonard J. Trinterud: *The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism* . . . . . (Herbert W. Schneider) 63

Erland Ehnmark: *Religionsproblemet hos Nathan Söderblom* . . . . . (Otto H. Bostrom) 66

Emil Brunner: *Christianity and Civilization.* . . . . . (E. Jerome Johanson) 69

Swami Akhilananda: *Hindu View of Christ.* . . . . . (George W. Briggs) 72

Friedrich Delekat: *Der Gegenwärtige Christus: Versuch einer Theologie der Geschichte* . . . . (John Dillenberger) 75

Winston L. King: *The Holy Imperative* . . . . . (Daniel D. Williams) 77

Kelvin Van Nuys: *Science and Cosmic Purpose* . . . . . (Charles Hartshorne) 79

Book Notes 85

Among the Periodicals 105

CREATIVE QUIET

NICHOLAS ARSENIEV
Professor of New Testament and Comparative History of Religions, St. Vladimir's Eastern Orthodox Theological Seminary, New York City

"Tetigisti me, et exarsi in pacem Tuam" (St. Augustine)

I

THE CREATIVE CONCENTRATION OF POETS AND ARTISTS

WHY DOES QUIET and peaceful concentration possess so often a creative power? It is not only because the attention is concentrated on the task—that is easy to understand—but because the mind is often enriched by something of which it was not previously conscious. It is as if, in silent meditation, the soul and mind ripened and were brought close to a threshold, to a door which opened, revealing visions of something beyond the humdrum occurrences of everyday life; as if a process had been started of penetrating into those depths of life suddenly brought near in the silent quiet of concentration.

At times this process takes the semblance of external relaxation. The soul is released from the grip of everyday cares, from the hectic pursuit of worldly interests. This relaxation, this seeming "laziness," is fruitful; it has been known to poets and other writers. Petrarch, Wordsworth, and Pushkin, to mention only a few, have spoken of its importance to them in their work. In the quiet, the mind steals forth from its shell; it expands, it sees and hears in the quiet of Nature what it had not been able to heed while in the grip of everyday preoccupations. This quiet is like a bath refreshing the soul, a process of restoration, of resharpening the perceptive and receptive faculties. Such a receptive state of the soul can be deeply fruitful. Out of it are born creative thinking and the works of artistic genius. It is the beginning of what one may designate as "being pregnant" with creative work. Out of this seeming "laziness," this leisurely receptivity, develops later a strenuous effort, an intense and painful labor, and a creative joy of the mind.

II

CREATIVE QUIET IN NATURE

Nature reveals itself as full of creative forces. The sap ascends and runs along the branches of the tree into the smallest leaf, through the

roots, the stalks of plants, the petals of flowers. There is a continuous flow and growth and interchange of matter, and a continuous blossoming and fructifying, and begetting and being pregnant with beauty and life and silent joy. There is a kind of rhythm, an alternation between exultant song—the enraptured outpourings in melody of the living soul—and silent joy. Yes, the deeper and more thorough-going is this process of being seized by the stream of Life, the more will sounds and songs give way to entranced silence. Therefore the intensity of Life reveals itself, perhaps, with special force in the hidden pulsations of silent, dreaming noontide. In this slumber you feel a tension—the throbbing, vital forces of Nature have reached their climax. It is a silence pregnant with vitality. This aspect of Nature's life was felt strongly by Shelley, and given rich expression:

> The quivering vapours of dim noontide,
> Which like a sea o'er the warm earth glide,
> In which every sound and odour and beam
> Move like reeds in a single stream. . . .

Among Russian poets, the great lyricist Tiutchev was deeply attracted by the wonderful charm of midday, as well as by the mystery of night. He pictures the peaceful "relaxation" of Nature in the hot noontide hours thus:

"Lazily breathes the dim Noontide, the river rolls lazily its waves.
The clouds are lazily melting in the burning and clear firmament . . .
And Great Pan himself is slumbering now in the Nymph's cave."

But what intensity in this stillness! What creative and restoring powers!

"Warm and clear blue streams down from the sky on the resting fields."

And there is an intensity of slumbering life in that enchanted Italian villa of Tiutchev's, shut away from the world by a motionless wall of dark cypresses. There is a mystery in the glittering stars and in the white moonlight streaming down on the ripening cornfields in the warm nights of late summer. The poet feels something which *is in* and behind this stillness and beauty.

Silence is fruitful; Silence is permeated with lifegiving forces. It is

the Creative Quiet, the Living Creative Background which reveals itself to the religious mind in the silent tension, in the unheeded streaming life of Nature. The earth is felt to be peopled with mysterious living beings that embody its hidden forces, the sap running through its veins, or even as a Great Living Whole. That is the deepest meaning of the great naturalistic religions: the sense of the nearness of the Divine, interwoven with Nature and appearing especially in *silent Nature,* or in wild and impressive solitude. For the religious mind of the ancient Greeks, the mountain caves and bubbling streams were peopled with Nymphs—one of the most attractive and poetical features of Greek religion. That is why Hesiod so emphatically enjoins reverential behavior when crossing a flowing stream: "Don't wade through the beautifully flowing waters of ever-flowing streams until you have offered a prayer to the wonderful spring, and washed your hands in the shining, gladdening water."

The cave of the Nymphs, with a spring gushing forth from the rocks in the background, the entrance thickly woven over with ivy and the walls green with moss! What a charm is felt even now when one crosses the threshold of one of those ancient nature-sanctuaries, as, for example, the "Grotta delle Sirene" in the deep gorge of Tivoli. Nothing moves; only a faint breeze makes tremble a branch of ivy over the entrance, and only the murmuring of the waters is heard. Or, there is the silence of the noonday hours on the shining crests of Greek mountains—the abode of lusty Fauns and Satyrs and Mountain-Nymphs, and Great Pan himself, the Master of the Wilderness. What transparent, lucid immobility of the air at midday on these mountain summits, permeated by the rays of the sun, shining and motionless and crystal-clear! One feels here the presence of divine forces, especially on the peaks and highlands of Arcadia, with their immense shining horizons.

But the fertile parts of the earth—valleys and cornfields and olive groves and vineyards—are also sacred to the Gods. The invocation in the first canto of Vergil's *Georgics* is alive with the piety of the ancient Italian husbandman:

> Ye Fauns,
> To rustic ever kind, come, ye Fauns
> And Dryad-maids together: your gifts I sing.
> . . . . . and clothed in power,
> Thy native forest and Lycean lawn,

Pan, shepherd-god, forsaking . . . hear
And help, O Lord of Tegea! . . . .
And bearing a young cypress-root uptorn,
Silvanus and gods all and goddesses
Who make the fields your care, both ye who nurse
The wilding fruit unsown by man, or ye that from the sky
Shed on man's sowing the riches of your rain. . . .[1]

The mysteries of fructification, of birth and growth, go on in secret and in silence. What is the most important, the most "sacred" from the point of view of natural life, is the most hidden. That is the sense (though not the only sense) of the naturalistic mysteries of the ancients. In the Eleusinian mysteries, the *epoptoi* (the initiated of the second degree) were shown, according to the Church Father Hyppolytus, "the wonderful, most perfect mystery of the *epoptia:* a corn-ear reaped in silence." The veils of the goddesses presiding over those mystical initiations (Demeter, and the Egyptian Isis), the veiling of the face of the worshipper in initiation, or approaching the sacred *cista,* and the sacred silence observed during the ceremonies—all signify the silent mystery of the Creative Powers giving life to man and beast and crops. In these mystical cults, the ancients have, with special intensity, felt and approached the unspeakable depths of the mysterious, procreative Forces of Life which uphold and renew all that exists and pour forth on nature and man their silent blessing.

But these Forces of Life were themselves bound to the "circle of becoming" (τροχὸς τῆς γενέσεως) and deeply rooted in the depths of Nature, which were themselves under the sway of Death. Thus this was not the ultimate Rest, not the ultimate Peace, not the ultimate Promise and Solution. True Peace could be given to the Soul only by something which transcends Nature and Death, and Dying and Birth and Generation—by a deeper and higher Mystery—the unfathomable Sea of Life Eternal, through an encounter with it and through being touched by it.

III

THE MYSTICAL ENCOUNTER

Standing before the Supreme Reality, the soul is mastered by the ineffable Presence: "How late I came to know Thee; how late I came to

1. Translation by James Rhoades (London, 1891), with slight changes.

love Thee, O Beauty so ancient and so new!" exclaims Augustine. It is an all-transcending abyss of Beauty and Majesty. "O Beauty which transcends all other beauty!" cries St. Theresa of Avila. It is that which *is,* which alone really is—the Fount, the Power, the Glory, and the Majesty, and the Rock unshakable—the depths of creative, overflowing Life (the ριζα ζωης of Plotinus), inexhaustible and abundant Bounty, the Harbor, the supreme Goal of the soul, and the all-consuming Fire. Fire, because it burns away all that is unworthy and impure; Fire, because the love of God is all-consuming, demanding the *whole of the soul,* free from earthly passions and concentrated on Him alone. Moses in the desert sees the Burning Bush and hears the Divine Voice: "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." Pascal, in the night of his decisive conversion, writes with trembling hand: "From about half-past ten of the evening until about twelve of the night: Fire *(Feu).* God of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, and not of the philosophers and the wise ones. . . ." And St. John of the Cross exclaims: "O flashes of Fire!"

The soul bows in silent adoration before the unspeakable Glory of the one true, all-transcending Reality. All else is counted as nothing and vanishes from sight. The self-centered ego also becomes unimportant, irrelevant, of no weight. Seeing His Majesty and Greatness, I see my own utter weakness and nothingness. It is the simultaneously given contemplation of the two Poles, the two Abysses: the Abyss of His Greatness and the Abyss of my nothingness. "Wouldst thou, O daughter mine, know who am I and who art thou? I am He who is, and thou art she that is not." Thus speaks the Divine Voice to the heart of St. Catherine of Sienna. "I cry and wail when the Divine Light enlightens me and I behold my poverty," writes the Byzantine mystic, Symeon the New Theologian. "In this moment"—before the face of God—"is revealed to me my nothingness and the non-being of my self," says the Flemish contemplative, Gerlach Petersen. To paraphrase the words of St. Theresa, "I am nothing before Thee, and still Thou comest to me. Thou liftest me up and fillest me with Thy grace."

Sinking to the ground in wordless humility and adoration, the soul enters the region of peaceful silence and is engulfed in the dark night of the Divine Abyss, where it is gradually stripped of all that is earthly. That is the Dark Night of the Soul which so profoundly affected St. John of the Cross. It means the "drying up" of the emotional life. In it

the soul is laid bare and left alone, deprived of the sense of the presence of God that it may learn to advance in fear and trembling, deprived of all spiritual joy, seeking only the will of God in sobriety and heroic obedience. But, in spite of this seeming withdrawal, it may mean that the overwhelming Presence is already vouchsafed in the Darkness in a hidden way. The French commentator on St. John of the Cross, Baruzi, is right: the Dark Night means to John not only a psychological stage on the way to perfection, but also the beginning of the Mystical Union, the "abysmal experience" of the soul, more and more taken up into God. And here the silence means partly preparation, and partly giving up all in the ineffable Union.

The mystical silence before the face of God is often mentioned by religious writers. The mystics of Hellenism knew this silence before the Ineffable One, and many illustrations are to be found in a book by the distinguished German Benedictine, Abbot Odo Casel, *De philosophorum graecorum silentio mystico.*[2] And the Christian mystics mention it again and again. Meister Eckhart writes of this "depth of silence" in *Von den ewigen Geburt:*

No creature, no image has ever penetrated thither. Neither action nor knowledge belongs to the soul there, nor does she know any image more, be it of herself or of any other creature.

The highest and the holiest that you can attain in this life, is to be silent and leave it to God to act and to speak.

In order that God might utter His Word in the soul, it must first come to peace and become quiet.

Sometimes this silence may have a definitely "quietistic" caste; the soul rejects all effort, rejects the "way of the Cross," and revels in the sense of utter passivity. But this is not the case with St. John of the Cross. His "Dark Night of the Soul" is an experience of the Cross. He lays stress on the painful purification of the senses, and even more on the purification of the mind, and the *willing and manly submission* of the soul to the purifying work of Grace, painful and blissful at the same time. There is a similarity between this teaching of St. John of the Cross and that of the Eastern mystical Church Fathers on the "interior silence," which is, at the same time, the highest tension and spiritual effort, in an atmosphere of total humility, of which we will speak more

2. In *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* (Giessen, 1919).

later. Here we must discuss further the notion, or rather, the experience of the *Divine Silence,* the abysmal experience of the unutterable depths of the Divine Darkness—"Darkness," because its "dazzling light" overpowers the receptive faculty of our spiritual eyes and blinds them.

This abysmal aspect of the Divine Reality is stressed in the religious thought of Hellenistic times—in later Platonism, in Neopythagoreanism, in the Gnostic systems, especially in the philosophy of Plotinus and the Neoplatonic schools. In Gnostic teaching we often meet the designation of the Primordial Divine Reality as Σιγη (Silence). In Plotinus we have the teaching on the Super-Essential Unity, the Fount of all Being, the only Reality (τὸ ἕν, τὸ πρῶτον), surpassing all images, all words, all notions, all intellect, which cannot be known rationally and can be approached and realized only in mystical ecstasy, in which Two become One. This teaching of Plotinus is full of immense beauty, and breathes a genuine and deeply felt experience. There are similar tones, but without the Neoplatonic pantheism, in the writings of certain Christian Fathers who were influenced by the contemporary religious and philosophical atmosphere. But there is a fundamental difference. With them, this Transcendent Divinity is a living and loving Transcendent Personality—a Living and Loving God.

Thus the emphasis on the Transcendency and Majesty of God, the "apophatic" strain, so characteristic of the Eastern Church Fathers, combines here with the emphasis on the Incarnation. This is the new note brought into the Platonic apophatic theology by Christian doctrine, which makes the work of "Dionysius the Areopagite" both more original and more genuinely Christian than earlier historians of religious thought have been inclined to admit. The "Areopagite" continues, with creative force and concentrated power, the line of thought already traced by Origen and Gregory of Nyssa. But let us dwell here, in the first place, on the "apophatic" aspect—the Transcendancy of the unspeakable Divinity, surpassing all that can be imagined, thought, or said by any created mind. According to Gregory, this is adumbrated by the "cloud" in which God is said to dwell, and by the "Night," the "Shining Darkness" (λαμπρος γνοφος) of God.

> By the word "Night" is designated here the contemplation of what cannot be contemplated, following the example of Moses, who entered the cloud in which God dwelt.[3]

3. In *Cant. hom.* 6.

What is sought outstrips all cognition, and incomprehensibility surrounds it from all sides, like a dark cloud. Therefore the sublime John, who also had entered this shining dark cloud, says: "No one has seen God.". . .[4] Behold, what it is to see: it is *not to see!*

But this unspeakable experience is here connected with the person of Christ.[5] And in the "Areopagitic" writings of the fifth century (some scholars place them in the fourth, or even at the end of the third century), we have the same vision. The treatise on *Mystical Theology* begins with an invocation to the Holy Trinity:

Trinity, which exceedest all Being, Deity, and Goodness! . . . Guide us to that utmost height of mystic love which exceedeth light and more than exceedeth knowledge, where the simple, absolute, and unchangeable mysteries of heavenly Truth *lie hidden in the dazzling obscurity of the secret Silence* (*ὑπέρφοτον γνόφον σιγῆς*) outshining all brilliance with the intensity of their darkness, and surcharging our blinded intellect with the utterly impalpable and invisible brightness of glories which exceed all beauty![6]

This language seems to us, of course, a trifle overladen. It seems already, perhaps, more a "literary" kind of mysticism than a lived one.

In another passage we read: "Thou shalt in purity cast all things aside, and be released from all, and so shalt be led upwards to the Ray of that Divine Darkness which exceedeth *all experience*" (*πρὸς τὸν ὑπερούσιον τοῦ θείου γνόφος ακτίνα*) literally, "the Super-Essential Ray of Divine Darkness." And, in his treatise *On the Divine Names,* he speaks of "the hidden, super-essential Godhead":

The boundless Super-Essence surpasses essences; the Super-Intellectual Unity surpasses Intelligences; the One which is beyond thought surpasses the apprehension of thought; and the Good which is beyond utterance surpasses the reach of words. . . . There is no trace of any that have penetrated the hidden depths of Its infinitude (I, 1).

But, at the same time, we learn that "It lovingly reveals Itself by illuminations corresponding to each separate creature's powers," and

4. *Vita Moysis,* P. Gr. 644, 377 A.

5. See my book, *Ostkirche und Mystik* (Basel, 1943), pp. 120 ff.

6. I have used here and in the following pages the excellent translation by C. E. Rolt, *Dionysius the Areopagite: On the Divine Names and the Mystical Theology* (London, 1940).

"kindles a responsive love in them" (1, 2). And the center of Its loving revelation is the Incarnation of the Son of God.[7]

This vision of the Abyss of Divine Reality has influenced strongly the conceptions of some of the leading mystics of Western medieval Christianity. But here, sometimes, the balance we find, e.g., with Gregory of Nyssa, was lost, and a one-sided emphasis was laid on the overpowering Mystery and Silence of the Godhead, while the Christian accent on the fulness of revelation in the person of the Incarnate Son of God tended to become obliterated. This is certainly the case with Meister Eckhart, who makes a distinction between the hidden, primordial Godhead, Fount of all Being, in which there is no action but only perfect calm and silence, and God as revealed in Three Persons, working, acting, creating. "The end of all things," according to Eckhart, "is the hidden Darkness of the Eternal Godhead, unknown and never to be known."

With other medieval Christian mystics we do not find such a clear-cut distinction between Godhead and God,[8] nor such definite deviation from the classical type of Christian theology. But the unfathomable Abyss of Divinity attracts the spiritual gaze of many. So Angela of Foligno tells us:

I saw God in a certain darkness, and therefore in darkness because He is the Supreme God, which can be neither thought of nor comprehended, and all that can be thought of or comprehended does not reach Him. . . . And the soul does not then see anything that might be told in words or even understood with the heart; on the one hand, it does not see anything, and, on the other, it sees in all ways everything, because this God remains surrounded by darkness. And therefore it is so much more certain, and so much more does it surpass all, the more It is seen in darkness, and is utterly concealed.[9]

And Tauler also says:

It is, and It is called Unutterable Darkness, but it is, nevertheless, Essential Light. It is, and It is called an Incomprehensible Wild Desert, where no one finds either way or image, because it transcends all images. One has to under-

7. "Especially It is called Benevolent because, in one of Its Persons, It verily and wholly shared in our human lot, calling unto Itself and uplifting the low estate of man, wherefrom in an ineffable manner the simple Being of Jesus assumed a compound state, and the Eternal hath taken a temporal existence, and He who supernaturally transcends all the order of all the natural world, was born in our Human Nature without any change or confusion of His ultimate properties" (1, 4).

8. This conception seems also to have influenced the modern Russian theologian and philosopher, Father Sergius Bulgakov.

9. Beatae Angelae de Fulgenio, *Visionum et instructionum*, liber C. XXVI.

stand this Darkness in the following way: It is Light which can neither be attained nor comprehended by a created mind; and "Wild" It is, because there is no access thereto. Thither is the spirit led up beyond the limits of its own self, beyond its power of cognition and comprehension.[10]

It is the Silence of Plenitude, the Darkness of Light, the Peace of Creative Life. On this point—emphasizing the Creativeness of this Quiet, the Living Springs streaming out of this Transcendency—the Areopagite is most explicit and emphatic. And let us recall here a beautiful passage from the autobiography of the fourteenth century German mystic, Heinrich Suso. At the turning point of his spiritual life, he has a sudden ecstatic experience of the Divine Reality, in which God is revealed to him, not only as the Divine Silence and Transcendency, but as the Creative, Living Transcendency, the Creative Quiet as the lifegiving Fount of all Being.

Here he saw and heard that which is unutterable by any tongue; it was formless and shapeless and had, nevertheless, *the gladsome rapture of all forms and shapes in itself*. . . . He could do only one thing—stare into the radiant shine, in which he forgot himself and all other things. He did not know whether it was day or night—there was *an outbreaking sweetness of Eternal Life* in immediate, motionless and quiet perception.[11]

This experience of the Creative Quiet of the Godhead, common alike to Eastern and Western Christianity (as well as to non-Christian mystics), seems to penetrate to the root of the matter and to explain from a deeper—a religious—point of view the immense, restorative and creative value of interior silence and quiet for the life and work of man. For here man lives and acts in accordance with his Prototype, in the image of Whom—so say old testamental and new testamental faith—he was created. This would explain why the contemplation in the silence of the heart is so often found at the higher stages of religious life and has been of such great significance in the history of man's spiritual endeavor.

IV

THE REVELATION OF THE WORD AND THE BOUNDLESS CONDESCENSION

The Divine Silence, the Abyss of Divine Rays, which appear as Darkness to our weak, bedazzled spiritual eyes, is, as we have seen, not the

10. Johannes Tauler, Predigt XI (*Deutsche Texte von Mittelalters,* Bd. XI).
11. *Leben,* kap. 2.

final and decisive aspect of Divine Reality, as it appears to the Christian. This Divine "Silence" finds its intimate, organic corollary, its essential manifestation and utterance, in the Divine "Word." The Father Almighty, Eternal Source of Life, speaks and reveals Himself in the Son of His Love, equal and co-eternal, from Whom and through Whom all life radiates: "All things were made by him (the Word); and without him was not any thing made that was made." More than that: the Transcendent God is also a God of boundless condescension, and this condescension of God is indissolubly connected with His Majesty. The highest expression of His Divine Majesty and His Divine Essence is His boundless, condescending Love. This is the core of the Christian message: the Transcendent God revealed and brought near in the Word made flesh. As to the "abysmal experience" of the Divine Reality, the decisive Christian feature is that now it is an experience of the abysmal love of God, manifested in the Beloved One—the Son of God who became Man.

The hidden mysteries of God, His unutterable Glory, here and now revealed through His Son and in His Son! "I have manifested thy name unto men." "Neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." "He that has seen me has seen the Father." "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth." But this revelation is a revelation in humility; it is a revelation of the boundless Condescension of the Love and the Humility of God. Thus, in the Far East, the ancient Chinese sage Lao-tse speaks of the humility of the Godhead—Tao; the Tao is like water, seeking the lowest place: "As Tao has no selfish desire and is perfectly humble, everything takes refuge in it." But here, in Christian faith, this message breaks forth with an overpowering force; it becomes the pivot of human history. It is not the preaching of an eternal idea; it is more than that; it is the witness to a fact, concrete and historical, unique and decisive—the Presence of the Divine, here among us, in utter humility and self-abasement. "That . . . which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and *our hands have handled*"—that, even that, was "the Word of Life." This is the central theme of Christianity: the total self-surrender of the Son of God in obedience unto death. "Behold my servant, whom I have chosen, my beloved, in whom my soul is well pleased. . . . He shall not strive,

nor cry; neither shall any man hear his voice in the streets. A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench"—with these words of Isaiah does Matthew describe Him who was promised and has come. And, in the preceding chapter, we have the classical expression of Majesty revealed in meekness: "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls." For this is the all-inspiring fact: ". . . the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."

The humility of God, the Son of God revealed "in the form of a servant (Phil. 2:7). Here Paul formulates that which is the theme of the whole doctrine. And in this meekness and humility what riches! It is the sense of a Presence beneath this humble appearance which permeates the entire Gospel, and is its ultimate meaning and soul. It is no sentimental image of a friendly and kindly teacher; in this humility there is power—the Presence unspeakable. Of these encounters with this Presence the Gospels are full.

"And he said, Lord, I believe. And he worshipped him"—so closes the story of the man who was born blind and was healed by Jesus. He "fell down on his face at his feet, giving him thanks: and he was a Samaritan"—this is one of the ten lepers. There is Zaccheus climbing up into a sycamore tree to get a sight of Jesus, and receiving him in his house in all haste, and giving up half of his fortune. And there are all those sick people, those lepers, those sinners, imploring his help, and there is the sinful woman who, silently sobbing at His feet, washed them with her tears, and anointed them with precious balm. And do you remember, in the story of the miraculous draught of fishes, that cry of Peter: "Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord"; or that other passage: "Then they that were in the ship came and worshipped him, saying: Of a truth thou art the Son of God"?

The accounts of His appearances after the resurrection emphasize still more these adoring prostrations before the Lord and Master, and the overpowering sense of the all-transcending Presence. As the women "went to tell his disciples, behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and held him by the feet and worshipped him." Thomas, overcome by His presence, exclaims: "My Lord and my God!" The heart of the disciples on the way to Emmaus burns within them, and they recognize Him "in the breaking of bread." Mary Magdalene does

not know Him at once, but then her eyes are opened, and she stammers: "Rabboni!" To the disciples, fearfully sitting behind closed doors, He says: "Peace be unto you"—and so on, and so on. These Gospel tales, laden with mystical experience—concrete fact and mystical revelation together—later became typical expressions or symbols of the mystical encounter of the soul with her Lord: Peter, overpowered in the boat; Peter sinking in the sea and calling for help; the repentant sinner kissing His feet; all those sick people crying for help; the women at the grave; the disciples at Emmaus, whose "eyes were opened"; and Zacchaeus, overwhelmed by His coming to his house. In these stories, the central experience of Christianity has become manifest—the real and concrete Presence of the Lord here in history and, at the same time, on the plane of Eternity, where the soul adores Him in silence.

Thus a Russian mystical writer of the nineteenth century, Fedor Glinka, has taken the episode of Zacchaeus as a symbol of the soul in expectation of the coming of Christ in the eucharist:

> Tomorrow, yea, tommorow, will the mystical Guest enter the house of Zacchaeus. Pale and trembling, will Zacchaeus fall on his face before him. Troubled and unquiet is the publican. He meets Him who cometh with the words:
>
> "Unworthy am I, unworthy of Thy coming! Wonderful, heavenly Guest! Thou art all shining light, but the narrow house of my heart is in disorder and uncleansed. What can I offer to my Guest? In vain do I seek good deeds in my past. I am covered with wounds and sins."
>
> And the answer comes:
>
> "Not feasts do I seek, nor those who are sound. Tomorrow I will admit those who are ill to the chalice of healing. Tomorrow, with My own Blood, with the grace of My Father and the Spirit of peace and love, will I enter your hearts. . . ."
>
> "O come, Thou Holy Guest, with Thy life-giving chalice! A new Zacchaeus expects Thee, bent under the load of his sins."

The prayers of the Church before communion compare the soul approaching the eucharistic chalice with the sick woman who approached Jesus and touched the hem of His garment, or with the repentant sinner at His feet, or the centurion who said: "Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under my roof: but speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed." In two beautiful Latin hymns, the medieval theologian, chancellor of the diocese of Paris, Philippe de Grèves, gives an analogous mystical interpretation to the scene in which the weeping

Magdalene meets Jesus near the tomb after the Resurrection. She does not know herself that she has met her Lord, and that He has taken up His abode in her heart.

These mystics were right; their experience was really apostolic and "evangelical," for the apostolic message was—to repeat it again and again—historical and mystical at the same time. They have caught the central meaning of that message: *here and now,* in this unique historical personality dwells the plenitude of the Godhead. In Power and meekness, in Peace, active and redemptive, that is, in *Creative Quiet,* are the innermost depths of God manifested to man in the "Son of His Love." Here is the *silent* revelation: the Word spoken and preached to all nations; the Presence there, concrete and real, but in poverty and lowly conditions of life, in meekness, in humiliation, in suffering and death—and in the power of the Resurrection! The Abyss of condescension, the Abyss of condescending Love; *The* Presence, but not manifested to all, concealed *and* manifested; that is the Good Tidings—to bear witness of the *historical fact* and of the *Presence* that was really there, but concealed in utmost condescending humility, and revealed by the Spirit. And the eyes thus illumined saw, under the veil of concrete earthly surroundings, "His Glory" and "the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man."

One of the main characteristics of the Good Tidings is the sense of *fulfillment.* "It is fulfilled"—these words can be inscribed over the whole Christian message, or, rather, *kerygma,* the "proclaiming" of the Kingdom. There is the decisive turning-point in history, a center of the destiny of mankind and the world, a unique moment of decisive irruption of the Divine Reality and its Presence here among us. The unspeakable "Treasure" has entered this life of ours; the precious "Pearl" has been found. Those who hunger and thirst after righteousness are summoned to approach and be satisfied: "Come unto me, all ye who labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. . . . For my yoke is easy and my burden is light." All the cravings, the seekings, of those who are thirsty for God find here, in this Presence, their goal and satisfaction. The heart is stilled by it, for the outflow of this Presence is *peace.* "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

But this Presence means more than peace. It means also active following, active fellowship in the bearing of the Cross. It means tension, and burning of soul, and dynamism and strife, and courageous self-dedication. "Who is near to Me, is near to fire"—so runs an apocryphal saying attributed to the Lord, which comes close to the Gospel words "I am come to send fire on the earth." This means that Christianity is a religion of expanding, creative, conquering dynamic force. A new Leaven has entered the world—the Life Eternal—which demands of us self-dedication. It lays hand upon us, as upon Paul, "the prisoner of Jesus Christ." The "treasure" is carried by us in "earthen vessels." The new Reality begins to reshape us, to create the new man in us. Thus these two poles are given simultaneously: the New Life as center of fulfillment, as Presence unspeakable, as haven of rest, as Peace; and the same New Life as a burning Fire, as leaven, as quest and tension, as the sharing of His Cross. In His own mouth these terms seem to compete with one another, and even to be interchangeable: the yoke which is easy and light, and the Cross which is heavy and painful.

Peace in tension. Possession and stretching forward. Plenitude, already here and among us, and the bearing of the Cross and manly strife. This is the picture of the New Life, against the background of His Presence—in history and in us—which means the simultaneous crucifixion of the old man and painful growth of the new one, and Peace unspeakable. It means the Cross which gives birth to Peace unspeakable, because it is His Cross, and because He is with us. "My peace I give unto you"—Creative Peace, the beginning of the new creature, for "the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness . . ."; Peace, because "they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts." This is the ultimate source of Peace.

V

HUMILITY OF GOD AND HUMILITY OF MAN

Christians of all times have contemplated with fear and trembling, with grateful love and wondering amazement, the mystery of the boundless condescension of the Son of God. It is the central theme of the worship of the Eastern Church. With untiring gaze, in a true Johannine spirit, it concentrates its attention on the two poles: the real Humanity in the depths of suffering and death, and the eternal, im-

mutable Divinity of the Son of God. It cannot turn its eyes away from this mystery, but bows before it again and again in humble adoration.

O Life, Thou hast been laid down in a grave, and the hosts of angels were overcome with awe, as they beheld Thy condescension.

O Life, how canst Thou die? How canst Thou abide in a grave?

But Thou destroyest the realm of Death, and deliverest the dead from the might of Hell.

We glorify Thee, O Jesus, King, and venerate Thy burial, and Thy suffering, by which Thou hast delivered us from corruption.

The Lord of all is looked upon as dead, and, in a new grave, is laid down, He who has emptied the tombs of the dead.

(Canticle of Easter Eve)

Today hangs on the Cross He who hung the earth upon the waters; with a crown of thorns is crowned the King of angels; with a mockery of purple is clad He who clothes the sky with clouds. . . .

(Canticle of Good Friday)

I behold a mystery strange and glorious: Heaven is in a cave, the Throne of the Cherubim is a Virgin, and a manger is the receptacle in which reclines Christ, our God, who cannot be contained by the whole world, whom we magnify and praise.

(Christmas hymn)

In the "Sayings" of the Desert Fathers, we find these words of a holy ascetic tormented by thoughts of vainglory: "If He who did make the heaven and the earth came into this world in humility, who dost thou, who are made, boast thyself?"[12] This is the central theme of Christian contemplation, stressed continually by Fathers and Saints. It is the contemplation of His humility which kindles our humility, as Christ Himself taught His disciples: "If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet."

Christ was humbly obedient even unto death. Though being "in the form of God," He voluntarily surrendered His glory, in order to accomplish the will of the Father, stripped Himself of His rights and assumed the shape of man. This is the abyss of Divine humility. For men, humility also means to place ourselves in the abyss, but in the abyss *in which we do belong* by our own nature. It is to see God first, to concentrate our gaze on Him, and *then* only—because we have become utterly uninteresting in our own eyes—to see ourselves before the face of God,

12. A. W. Budge, tr., *The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt* (Oxford, 1934), p. 145.

in all our weakness, unworthiness, impurity, and meanness. This is what St. Francis of Assisi meant, when he poured out his soul in this short prayer, repeated again and again during forty hours of solitary contemplation: "Who are Thou, O dulcissime Deus meus, and who am I, small worm and unworthy slave before Thy face?" But note it well, it is not only the sight of the overpowering Majesty of God that moves him so. Even more are Christians shaken and silenced by the abyss of God's loving condescension, and the "abysmal experience" is in the foremost place for Christianity. This theme of God's self-sacrifice rings through the eucharistic hymn of the "St. James Liturgy," used now by the Eastern Orthodox Church on Easter Eve: "Let all human flesh be silent and let it not think of anything that is earthly, for the King of Kings and Lord of Lords comes to be slain and to deliver Himself as food to the faithful." This contemplation of trembling love is truly Johannine, and truly creative, helping the rise in us of a new creature, and preparing a place in our hearts for the coming of the Lord. It is expressed with supreme power in the Eucharist in the words addressed by the soul to the approaching Lord:

> I am not worthy nor satisfied, my Lord, that Thou shouldst enter beneath the roof of my house, for it is empty of all good and lies in ruins, and there is no room for Thee to lay Thy head. . . . But humble Thyself, as Thou hast done many times before, regard my lowliness and humility, have mercy upon me and enter.

The atmosphere of humility is that of real growth for the soul, for it means standing continuously in the presence of God. The spirit of this *creative humility,* this childlike simplicity and purity of heart, full of deep wisdom and humble surrender, is a "creative quiet," pervading all true Christian life. It is the spirit of St. Francis, who could only repeat his simple words again and again, stammering from the fulness of his heart, seeing only his own littleness and the chasm between himself and God filled with the boundless Love descending to him. That is why Christian mystical life is essentially Christocentric, why its supreme goal is the Incarnate Love. It is the inspiration of the "Jesus prayer" of the Eastern anchorites: "Thou art Jesus Christ, Son of God; I am a sinful creature—save me!" This cry for salvation is the throbbing heart and unrelaxing inspiration of the new life of spiritual endeavor. It is a silent tension of the heart—in sobriety and manful effort. It is not

quietism, but continuous striving. The mystical Fathers call it "watchfulness of the heart," or "sobriety," or "silence of the heart." A fifth century mystic, Hesychius of Jerusalem, writes:

> Sobriety is the way of every virtue and of the commandment of the Lord. It is also called "silence of the heart" and is the same thing as the watchfulness of the spirit which has attained the state of non-distractedness.
>
> The light of the sun is not seen by a man blind from his birth. In a like way, the shining of Grace descending in superabundance is not perceived by him who does not walk in sobriety.
>
> Spiritual concentration is an uninterrupted silence of the heart, free from any sinful thought. In that silence the heart breathes in Jesus Christ, the Son of God and God, yea, in Him alone, unrelaxing continuity. Him does it invoke; with Him it arms itself manfully against its enemies; and unto Him, who alone has the power of remitting sins, does it confess its transgressions.
>
> One way or manifestation of spiritual sobriety is uninterrupted watchfulness against distracting thoughts. . . . Another is to have a heart which is continuously silent and to pray. Again another is to cry for the help of the Lord Jesus Christ unceasingly in humbleness of spirit, and also to carry continuously in the soul the thought of death.
>
> A wonderful depth is beheld by the silence of the heart, and the ear of the silent mind will hear unutterable mysteries coming from God.
>
> The beginning of fruitfulness is blossoming; the beginning of sobriety is continence in food and drink, the discarding of all disorderly thoughts, and the silence of the heart.[13]

Calm and tension—creative quiet of the spirit—this is a manful struggle, a "spiritual strife" (ἡ μαχη ἡ ἀόρατος—"invisible strife") going on all the time. The Christian is called to manliness of spirit, as a warrior of God in the war against the Spirit of Wickedness, and against his own "old man," with its fleshly lusts and self-adoration. He is assailed from all sides by sinful thoughts and appetites which he must resist. If he falls, he must not be troubled, but rise with the firm intention of continuing the battle. This is the teaching of the Fathers, full of courage and moral earnestness, and unrelenting activity. But this is only half their teaching. The other part stresses the helplessness of the man who relies upon his own efforts. There is no other salvation but to turn to Jesus, to cling to His name, to cry for His help. Here is a synthesis of the utmost strenuous effort, on the one hand, and the sense of utter helplessness, on the other: "Thou canst save me! I turn to Thee, I im-

13. See the ascetic-mystical chrestomathy, *Dobrotolubiye* (the Russian version of the famous Greek *Philokalia*), Vol. II (1885), par. 3, 4, 5, 14-17, 132, 165, 166, 169, 195, 203.

plore Thee, I invoke Thee. I knock at the doors of Thy mercy. Thou alone canst save me. I can do nothing by myself." It combines effort (but no merit) and activity (but no self-reliance) with humility and concentrated prayer. It involves lifelong tension and struggle, and no security whatever. From the highest summits of spiritual life one can fall, if one relies on oneself. For temptations assail with special force those who ascend the highest, that they may come to know their frailty and insufficiency without God's help. But in Him, our Savior, there are security and calm. It is this tension between effort and humility which gives to the spiritual life its sense of measure, of balance and sober discerning, of wise simplicity, and, above all, of humility—its root and its crown. For the Spirit of God resides in the humble heart.

There are many stories of this humility, which express its characteristic atmosphere of security in insecurity. Of Abbot Sisoe, a saint of the Egyptian desert, they tell such a tale. When, after a long life of spiritual endeavor, he was nearing his end, his face was suddenly lighted up as by a sun, and he cried to those around him, "See, there comes Abbot Antonius!" In spirit he gazed upon the hosts of glorified saints approaching one by one, and the radiance of his face steadily increased. One of the Fathers asked him, "With whom dost thou speak, Abbot?" And he answered, "Angels are come to fetch me, and I am begging them to grant me yet a little while that I may do penance." The Fathers said, "Thou hast no need of penance, Abbot," but he replied, "Verily I say unto you, I have not so much as begun my repentance." And then they all knew that he was perfect.

For, "what is perfection?" asks Isaac the Syrian, and answers, "Depths of humility." He says further, "The humble man dare not even pray to God to ask anything of Him, and does not know for what he shall pray; he merely holds all his feelings mute in the expectation of grace and favor that shall be bestowed upon him by the countenance of the adorable Majesty."

Peace, and silence of heart—but not passivity. It is given to those who have not shunned spiritual strife; it is given in the midst of strife as the basis and crown of the new life. "I sleep, but my heart watches"—these words from the Song of Songs are often quoted by the Eastern Christian ascetics and mystics. Midst insecurity, then, is security; along with strife, peace—in Jesus Christ, a foretaste of the Peace Eternal; given to

us, not taken by us; not our peace, but His peace. And this peace can grow in us along with our spiritual growth.

Of this supreme peace, the peace of God, not much can be said, for it "passes all understanding." Isaac of Syria speaks of a state of mind in which all is quiet, and man listens in silence to the Divine Voice: "the supreme foundation of the silence and quiet is when man converses with God in his interior, and his heart is attracted thereto." St. Catherine of Siena writes of this "Sea of Peace," in which the Divine Voice speaks to her: "Blessed is the soul who has been able to pass from the sea of storms unto Me, the Sea of Peace, and has filled therein the vessel of her heart" (*Dialogo,* c.89). And St. Diadochos of Photice, a Greek mystic of the fifth century, writes of this peace:

> The sea, when oil is poured on it during a storm, usually yields to the influence of the oil, which triumphs over its mighty rising waves. In a like manner, when the soul receives the unction of the goodness of the Holy Spirit, it calms down. In fact, with joy it allows itself to be vanquished by that sweetness, peaceful and unspeakable, which overshadows it. One enters this state and one remains therein, if one quiets one's soul incessantly with the fear of God (ch. xxxv).

In this peace and quiet the Spirit of God reveals Himself and works in the soul. Only in short hints and allusions can one speak of this. As for us, it transcends our knowledge and experience; it belongs to another, a higher, level. We must, therefore, confine ourselves to quotations from the writings of those who have experienced and lived it. It is too holy and too tremendous for mere description; it must pervade the whole life by becoming the goal and the inspiration of it. But the saints who allude to it have lived this Reality. Again to quote Diadochus:

> The soul is so kindled with the love of God that all the parts thereof are glued in an ineffable way to the sweetness of the divine desire, in an infinite simplicity of disposition. For the wind is then, so to say, fructified by the action of the Spirit and flows forth as a spring of love and joy (ch. xxxiv).

Isaac of Syria speaks of the highest degree of visitation in prayer:

> What comes now is the entering of the hidden treasure-chamber. All lips and tongues here become silent, and the heart, the keeper of thoughts, and the mind, the ruler of the senses, and all the forces and means must be silenced, for the Master of the House is there.

That will be unto thee a sign that thou art near the entrance to this country: when Grace opens thine eyes in such a way that they will see all things substantially, then will thine eyes pour forth tears, which will run down thy cheeks; the power of thy senses will be quieted, so that they will now be peacefully secluded within thee. If anyone teaches thee differently, do not believe him. . . . The heart becomes small like a child, and, as soon as it begins to pray, tears flow . . . . This means that the cloud of God has already begun to overshadow the tabernacle of thy heart.

Speaking of the mysterious gifts of the Spirit and its ineffable presence, Macarius of Egypt (in his First Homily) compares the soul led by the Spirit to the divinely driven chariot in the prophecy of Ezekiel:

The prophet sees here the mystery of the soul which is ready to receive her Lord and to become a throne for His Glory. For the soul, when prepared by the Spirit to become His seat and dwelling-place and admitted to partake in His light, irradiated by the beauty of His ineffable Glory, becomes entirely light, entirely face, entirely eye. . . . The soul that is totally irradiated with the ineffable glory of the face of Christ and entered wholly into communion with the Holy Spirit, and has been deemed worthy to become a dwelling-place and throne of God—this soul becomes all eye, all light, all glory, all spirit. In such manner Christ, who carries, leads, holds, and uplifts her, adorns and illuminates her with spiritual beauty.

But in humility and fear, and the trembling of love, must we receive his gifts. The greater His bounty, the more the saints adore Him in humble thankfulness.

Again humility and simplicity of heart, for that is the highest summit. In this humility, man becomes "godlike," says Isaac of Syria. "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus" (Phil. 2:5). To be a child before God—that is the highest fulfillment. As St. Paul says, we have received "the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father." Like children, "we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered."

In the collection of mystical treatises by Isaac of Syria, this condition of spiritual childhood is stressed again and again. The collection closes with a section inscribed: "This chapter is full of life." In it we read:

When thou prostratest thyself in prayer before God, thou must become, in thy self-estimation, as an ant or a worm of the earth, or a small beetle. Pray not

before God as a man who knows, but stammer before Him, and approach Him with the thought of a child, and so walk before Him that thou mayst be deemed worthy of the paternal care given by fathers to their little children. For it is said: "God takes care of the little children."

And the words of Christ, "Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven," bear witness to this reality: the humility of man kneeling in prayer and adoration before the humble Condescension of God, and being led into the Glorious Humility of the Kingdom.

THE BLESSING OF THE SOWER

WILFORD O. CROSS

President of Daniel Baker College

"It is rash to intrude upon the piety of others; both the depth and the grace of it elude the stranger." (Santayana)

THIS RELIEF, in the Metropolitan Museum,[1] was found in Rome, considerably broken, but has been restored after the pattern of its original, discovered at Eleusis itself. The original, from its position, was either an entablature over a doorway of the Telesterion of the Mysteries, or the reredos of an altar. It is dated as a work of about 445 B.C., and, from its simplicity, its lack of obtrusive symbolism, its "humanism," and its bold, classic grace, the guess is consistent with what we know of the history of Greek sculpture.

The relief portrays the cereal Trinity: Demeter, Kore, and Triptolemos. Triptolemos is in the middle, in profile, facing Kore (at the observer's left), with Demeter behind him. As the central figure he comes first to our attention. He stands breast high to Demeter, and is portrayed as a youth, or stripling of possibly fourteen years, halfway between the Divine Child and the Divine Hero, and, therefore, partaking of the nature of both. He is naked, like the Divine Child, but beautifully shouldered and muscled, with genital organs indicating, at the very least, nascent maturity. There is grace and strength in the erect figure, and the head is noble. There is about him that luminous serenity, that calm yet dynamic energy, which the Greek artist always manages to imply when his subject is the peaceful and productive pursuit of agriculture. The sculptor has, thus, lovingly netted the Hero emerging from the Divine Child, and comparison might be made to the Christ Child of the Carpenter Shop or of the Temple. Triptolemos has, in his nakedness, no symbols, either of the crooked plow so habitual to his portrayal, or the winged car of his journey to Egypt, or even the sower's bag, shoulder slung, so that, as Jane Harrison suggests, the figure might be Iacchus, that other foster child of the Mother-Maid of Bread.[2]

Without symbolism it is most difficult, and indeed, impossible of a

1. Relief No. 14, 130 g.
2. *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 563.

surety, to interpret the meaning of the relief, though to initiates and mystae of the Rite, it was probably most obvious. Demeter is blessing the Boy with her right hand held tenderly, yet pontifically, over his head, and there is, in spite of the Greek casual ease, obviously, dramatic meaning in the gesture. The very naturalness and grace of the gesture, which is almost in motion, in spite of the frozen medium of stone, is patently liturgical and prelatical. Something important, at least, is going forward here, so that one feels that the relief is showing Triptolemos, himself, as an initiate, the first of all the sons of Eleusis to enter into the redemptive rite and to know the mystery. It may very well be that this was one of a series of entablatures (though there was no trace of that in the rubble of Lefsina),[3] and that other reliefs might have shown the lustration, the drinking of the *kykeon,* or the enthronement upon the ram skin. At any rate, whatever is happening here is intensely, though tranquilly important. There is liturgical crisis in the sculptoring.

Kore is holding out her right hand to him with the same naturalness of gesture but implied pontificial significance of Demeter's hand outstretched in blessing. Her right hand is slightly above his right hand, as if she were placing something in the receptive grasp of his upstretched fingers. Probably the secrecy of the rite forbade the carving of this object, but my own guess is that it would be the seed of wheat for the sowing, and that the artist has caught, here, the initiation of Triptolemos into the mystery of seeding, and that the object, therefore, is the sacred *thesmos* itself, the mixture of compost and germinal wheat,[4] so central and so holy to Eleusis. In that case, if this guess is anywhere near correct, we have here a picture of the Institution, to the mystae comparable in meaning and significance to a picture of the Last Supper for us. This is, then, conjecturally, a setting forth in stone of that sacrament of fertility from which the bread of life is grown.

Another hypothesis should be examined, however. Over and over again, in referring to Eleusis, the Greeks themselves insisted that there was a connection between the grain-rite of Greece and that of Egypt: the Osiris-Isis-Horus myth. Diodorus says that Orpheus brought the Demeter rite from Egypt,[5] and Theodoretus (ca. A.D. 400) says that

3. Modern name for Eleusis.
4. M. F. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* (New York, 1940), p. 49.
5. I. M. Linforth, *Arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley, 1941), p. 190.

(Photograph by Alinari)

ELEUSINIAN RELIEF

Orpheus adopted the Demeter rite from that of Isis.[6] There are some forty-two extant instances on vases[7] of the sending forth of Triptolemos to Egypt, but, unfailingly, in these portrayals, which are loaded with symbolism, the Hero is a bearded figure, seated in a winged car entwined with serpents. A vase from the Pizzoti Collection, indeed, shows Triptolemos in his winged car by the banks of a river, labeled in Greek letters the Nile.[8] Nearly all the literary allusions to the Nile origin of wheat growing, however, refer to the *rite* itself as coming from Egypt, via Orpheus, rather than, as the vase paintings indicate, the seedling wheat being thus imported. An older, and apparently firmer tradition, stemming from Hesiod, himself a farmer, tells us that Demeter, and wheat and barley growing, came from Crete,[9] and the Homeric Hymn to Demeter definitely places Demeter's early home in Crete, from whence she fled after Zeus killed her lover with his lightning.[10] The prevailing tradition, then, is that Demeter came from Crete, initiated her foster child, Triptolemos, into the mystery of wheat growing, beginning on the Rarian plain, between Eleusis and Athens; later, by some ten years, the rite was set up, after Egyptian models, at Eleusis, in the house of King Eumolpos, by the mystagogue, Orpheus, who wrote after the general pattern of the Osiris-Isis liturgy.[11] Later, Triptolemos was sent to Egypt in a winged car, either to bring an improved form of wheat, better suited than the rough Cretan barley (δηάς), or to bring improvements of the rite. At any rate, there is a connection between Eleusis and the Egyptian wheat-cult, either by way of the importation of seedling wheat or of poeticizing rite. However, to return to the beautiful simplicity of our entablature, the "sending forth" to Egypt as the messenger of the goddesses is not, on the surface, apparent in any way, and I am rather prone to think that here we have the "sending forth" to the plowed field of a stripling to bear, for the first time, as a priest of bread, the holy *thesmoi*.

The goddesses are women. Being Greek they could not be otherwise.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

7. J. E. Harrison and M. Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* (London, 1890), p. li.

8. *Ibid.*, p. liii.

9. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 969.

10. Homeric Hymn to Demeter, line 122.

11. Harrison and Verrall, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 f, 98; Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 271, quoting inscription from Jacoby, *Grieschische Historiker*, 2B 995.

Here are no gaunt and asceticized early-medieval madonnas, but living personalities. That, of course, is the Hellenic genius for creating character, which makes it so difficult not to believe in the gods. Are they not living creatures known to everyone, whose appearance and character and personality and whims and peccadillos, and all the rest that "knowing people" means, are obvious to everyone? So here is Demeter, majestic, certainly, but not with the cold majesty of Hera, or the warmer more seductive grace of Aphrodite Pandemos, but matronly and womanly, in all the dignity of one in whose beautifully fingered hands is the potency that brings forth on earth the bread that is the staff of life for man. She is uncrowned, her hair caught up in a matronly knot, unlike Kore, who, though Queen of Hades, is curled and bobbed like a young girl. Beautifully symbolic, over that matronly body, across the generative womb out of which the divine mystery of nourishment is born, the chiton is caught in waving, horizontal folds like a furrowed field, for she is the potency of the "tilth," the plowed and moistened earth.

There is some shrewishness among scholars debating whether Demeter was an earth goddess or a vegetation goddess. All this seems rather wooden and unimaginative and, at the same time, unreal. It is here that Ruth Benedict's concept of potency, of mana, of "wonderful power," is redemptive.[12] One need not say, dogmatically, Demeter is the Wheat, or, with equal dogmatism, Demeter is the earth that produces the wheat; but rather, Demeter is the potency, in the earth and in the wheat, that produces wheat. She is the female, generating agency. Sometimes this power of reproduction is thought of as the plowed field, and it is this conception that is meant when Greek poets wrote of Demeter, the earth, being fertilized by the rain of Zeus.[13] In Crete, indeed, undoubtedly she was an earth goddess, a form of Gaia, for it was there that she lay in the plowed field with Iasion,[14] whom, subsequently, Zeus, in his jealousy (since he, as sender of the seminal rain, was the husband of the earth goddess) killed by lightning. In Crete, also, as earth mother and vegetation mother, Demeter gave birth to Dionysos, meaning that barley cultivation is older than that of the vine.[15] Also, referring to Zeus's marriage, or copulation, with Demeter,

12. F. Boas, *General Anthropology* (New York, 1938), p. 627.
13. W. C. K. Guthrie, *Orpheus* (London, 1935), p. 7.
14. Homeric Hymn to Demeter, ll. 120 f.
15. Guthrie, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

Hesiod says, "in Crete's rich furrows lay they,"[16] and from that union the god of wealth and prosperity, Ploutos, was born. All this, naturally, goes back to sympathetic magic, when, copulation between a youth and a maiden actually took place, liturgically, in the field, to encourage fertility, and Zeus's slaying of Iasion may be the banning of that ancient cult rite by the civil, or Olympian, authority.

Demeter is the daughter of Kronos, and the granddaughter of Ouranos, the sky god, and Gaia, the earth mother, and she inherited a portion (the grain-potency portion) of her grandmother's function. Both the Greeks and the Romans called the dead *demeteroi* ("Demeter's people") because they were buried in the ground.[17] As Kourotrophos, or Nursing Mother, or Child Rearer, Gaia, the Earth Mother, had a joint sanctuary with Green Demeter (who was also *kourotrophos*) near the gateway to the Athenian Acropolis.[18] Aristophanes has the women of Athens pray jointly to Demeter and Earth at the Thesmophoria.[19] The familiar animal of Demeter was a pig, and this, too, was the animal most frequently sacrificed to the earth goddess; and the Romans, who were fussy about these things, before reaping, offered to Earth and jointly to Ceres, *porca praecidanea,* a pregnant sow.[20] Ovid, who admits the confusion between Ceres and Tellus, neatly divides their functions by saying that the corn goddess makes the seeds to grow and the earth goddess gives them a place to grow: "Haec praebet causam frugibus, illa locum."[21] Frazer sums it up by saying, "She was a goddess of the corn rather than of the earth."[22] As Artemis was the Lady of Wild Things, which does not mean that she was the actual stones and brambles of goat pastures and mountain forests where the deer ran, but the spirit of places where man's foot but seldom trod, so Demeter was the Lady of Tilth and of Corn, which neither means she was a clod, or a stalk of wheat, but the personalized spirit of all that in dust of thrice-plowed and Zeus-watered earth, and in germ of wheat, produced the golden harvest, from which, by fire, men made bread. She was the

16. Hesiod, *Theogony,* 969.

17. Harrison, *op. cit.,* p. 275. Also: "the goddess would seem to have been pushed in the background by the Corn Goddess, Ceres, with whom she was often confounded." J. G. Frazer, *The Worship of Nature,* I, 237.

18. Harrison, *op. cit.,* p. 271 and Frazer, *op. cit.,* p. 324.

19. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae,* line 297.

20. Frazer, *op. cit.,* p. 334.

21. Ovid, *Fasti,* I, 673.

22. Frazer, *op. cit.,* p. 318 and *Golden Bough,* I, 35.

potency of these things. As symbol of that potency, on our entablature she carries in her left hand a sceptre made of long stalks of richly-headed wheat.

I am leaving Queen Persephone standing thus a long time, but I mean no irreverence to the young and beautiful Lady of the Dead. There are things which, first, still insist on being said of her mother. First of all, from its inception, apparently, the raising of grain was woman's work. Anthropology, I think, would support me in that. Indeed, even today, in southern Europe there is a belief that certain seeds will not grow unless planted by women, who are closer to primary fertility than men, and I have seen three strong Italian men stand at the edge of a melon patch while a hobbling old beldame went out with mattocks and dug holes and planted the seeds. In Greece it was the women who celebrated the Thesmophoria, the feast of the seeding, who went down into the dark compost pit, first making a rattling noise to drive away the guardian serpents, and brought forth the fertilizer. Man's work was hunting, and herding goats in the pastures of Artemis, while tilling was the curse of Eve. Thus, the two spirits of the wheat, Mother and Maid, were women. Furthermore, Demeter was a husbandless goddess, mother and maid at once, representing, perhaps, sociologically, an ancient matriarchy that goes back into the roots of time.[23] Nilsson says that the Athenian feast of the Thesmophoria was celebrated by women alone,[24] and certainly Aristophanes gave Mnesilochus, who went to the feast disguised as a woman, a very bad, if comic, time.

Now, may it not be possible that the cult of the hero that Demeter adopted, as Athene adopted Theseus and Perseus, the cult of Triptolemos, represents the change from a mere incidental, domestic, garden-patch agriculture, carried on by women, to real farming done by men on a larger scale, in which Triptolemos is the plowman, as his name "Thrice-plower" indicates, and also the sower, and the wielder of the flail? He learned his peaceful, life-giving art from a woman, from our Lady Demeter, but carried on from there, a hero, not of targe-clanging Trojan Wars for lust of Helen, nor even of the healing labors of a Heracles, or the knightly encounters of Theseus with monsters, nor the long tentacles of maritime commerce and empire going out in the adventure of Jason, but a hero, a son of the gods, who bent his back to

23. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
24. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

the plow and trod the field to sow wheat. In Demeter and Triptolemos, by some said to be a son of Oceanus and Gaia,[25] agriculture acquired grace, and the arts of peace a spiritual gospel enunciated by the hierophant of Eleusis. Divine spirit of the corn and divine plowman together, in the initiation of Triptolemos, which is here before us in this stone, gave to farming a divine and a heroic accolade and made it, in the ancient world, a task fit for men. Even Dionysos, who was by some rumored to be a son of Demeter (or Persephone), gave his royal accolade, for the Bull Dionysos, the Cretan Dionysos (Baal) invented the use of the ox to pull the crooked plow that Triptolemos is said to have gotten from Osiris.[26] Thus, by grace of the gods, the strength of masculinity is consecrated to the soil.

Kore is a slenderer figure than her divine mother, queenly, graceful, almost bridal with her carefully done hair. She carries in her hand not a sceptre of wheat stalks, like Demeter, but a torch, the symbol of those who walk through chthonic darkness in the abode of the Dead. As Demeter, in her long career, becomes more earthly, more cosmic, and, finally (though she is a mystery goddess and essentially chthonic), Olympian, so Kore became, under the influence of Orphism, more and more the Queen of the departed, and less and less what she was in the beginning, the green sprout in the field and the new wheat of the Haloa, the feast of the threshing. For, at first, Kore, the Corn-Maiden, was but Demeter virginal, and perhaps the sorrows of the Corn Mother at her rape and departure were of deeper meaning than they seem at first sight, for, after her marriage, as Persephone, the Queen of Hades, she is to be less and less wheat that is the child of wheat, and more and more the beautiful, pale Lady of Death. As Demeter becomes more maternal, goddess not only of wheat, but of childbirth and child raising, so Persephone is to become more Orphic and more mystic as the bride of death. There is still within her something of Demeter, for, as the Mother copulated in magic sympathy with the fertile rhythm of nature in the furrows of her far away Cretan isle, so her daughter, bride of Plouton, in the darkness of the Telesterion, amid the breathless mystae, through her priestess, celebrates (either actually or symbolically) the Sacred Marriage between "the god and the goddess," unnamed at Eleusis and probably more ancient than Plouton and Persephone, or

25. Musaeus genealogy from Harrison and Verrall, *op. cit.*, lvii.
26. Linforth, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

even Demeter herself.[27] Thus she who, at first, symbolized the life of the young wheat, becomes, at the last, symbolic of the risen life of the soul. The earthly rebirth of new wheat from old, becomes, as on the lips of Jesus, a type and sign of immortal destiny apart from body and from earth. Thus the daughter of Demeter of the earth becomes the bride of Immortality, and the bread of our fields becomes the type and token (as in Christianity) of heavenly bread, the very medicine of immortality. Thus, a slenderer and more etherial Demeter, Kore, stands in our entablature, torch in hand, to symbolize the spiritual life and destiny of mankind that is born of earth and fed by bread, but finds its queenhood and its destiny, through the gate of death, in immortality. The Orphic Gospel found in wheat the prototype of the soul, thereby anticipating the Eucharist, wherein Bread is offered as a creature of earth, broken in sign of redemption, smitten with holy presence, and eaten as food of immortality. Kore, in her own beautiful way, is the host of the Orphic Mass of the Dead.

All this that, by way of speculation and meditation, I have constructed here, is meaningless without reference to the deep mystery of the Cult of Eleusis itself. That, perhaps, can never be reconstructed, but at least enough is known about it to throw more light and meaning on our stone entablature. Just as in meditating upon the entablature, and upon the investing and ordination of the Plowman by the two Divine Women, we found a sociological layer of significance, and beyond that, a theological and mystical layer of significance in Kore and her torch, so there are strata in our approach to Eleusis: (1) Agricultural; (2) Mythological; (3) Mystical or Theological.

1. *Agricultural:*

The rubrics of the Eleusinian Rite are written by the episcopal hierarchy of Isotherms. That is something that has been scandalously overlooked by many northern scholars. A northern complex of winter, followed by spring and summer has been, over and over again, read into the rite and perverted its meaning. The climate of Greece is not that of Germany. The great difficulty with agriculture in Greece is not winter, with frost and snow, but summer, with cruelly parching drought. The

27. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 563. ff.; L. R. Farnell, III (Oxford, 1907), 176. Farnell suggests that the mysterious bridegroom of Eleusis may be Dionysos.

enemy is dessication. That is why the feast of the sowing of wheat, the Thesmophoria, the great festival of Eleusis, is not in the spring, but in autumn, and the feast of Haloa, of the threshing, is in late spring. Wheat culture in Greece went something like this: In the fall, at the Thesmophoria, seedling wheat was selected from the silo or granary, where it had been kept since the May threshing, and this was carried for blessing to the altar of Demeter. There, before being offered, it was mixed with fertilizer brought by women known as Drawers from compost pits into which various waste products and other ingredients had been thrown. Chief in significance among these ingredients was the rotten flesh of swine who had died of disease, and the remnants left over from butchering. Seed and compost were then sowed.[28] Just before that, the field had been thrice plowed. (Earlier there was a tradition of dual plowing, for in the Orphic genealogy of Triptolemos, the thrice plower, Dysaules, the double furrow, is his father.[29]) Possibly one of the three plowings was in dust, in preparation for the rain of Zeus, which came seminally in the autumn to relieve the thirst of earth. By the first of our month of December, the fields were dramatic with fresh green. They remained so in the winter dampness until the Sun of early summer, or late spring (with us) browned the wheat to ripeness. Then came the rape of the sickle, the captivity of sheaves, the beating of the flail, and last of all the storing away in a silo, or cistern, or earth-pit, where the wheat lay while the Sun in his malignant aspect brought dryness and sterility and desolation to the earth. The fields of Demeter were then brown with sorrow until mid-November, when the green, fresh, maiden life of Kore was restored. During the parching, desolate heat of summer the new wheat was underground in a pit, guarded by a kindly snake who kept marauding rats at bay.

2. *Mythological:*

The myth of Demeter is, of course, far more complicated than the rubrics of the agricultural account, given above, indicate. Hesiod and Homer might unionize the Greek Gods into an A. F. of L. organization in which bricklayers laid no hand on the plumber's material, but the Greek Gods were a temperamental and independent lot who followed their own whimsical temperaments and, therefore, mythology is always

28. Harrison and Verrall, *op. cit.*, p. 102. Also, Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
29. Harrison and Verrall, lvi.

confused and overlaid. In general, however, the myth of Demeter follows pretty well the outline given above. In the summer Demeter was desolate, for her daughter had been stolen by Plouton and taken underground. In her tearful search she came to Eleusis, and there, exhausted by travel and travail, she was taken in to the house of the Eleusinian King, given barley water to drink (the *kykeon*), and seated on a stool covered by a ram skin, while a feast of pork was prepared for her. So Demeter stayed in the house of Eleusis while the earth and her mood were brown and desolate. She bathed in the nearby sea for purification, to cleanse her of the rape of Poisedon, her brother, the god of the sea. (This is the Black Demeter or Horse Demeter myth: the Thelpusan cult.) Purified, Demeter prayed to Zeus, the father of her lost daughter, and he sent his rain, and lo, Kore, the lost corn maiden appeared again above ground and joy returned to Demeter. (This is the Green Demeter of December.) But, Kore had been married to Plouton, King of Hell, and, furthermore, she had eaten a seed of the pomegranite (the food of the dead). And so, for a third of the year, she must go away again from Demeter to live with Plouton in the abode of the dead. Therefore, when the late spring sun waxes hot, the corn is reaped and threshed and kept underground until October, in cisterns or silos, and Kore is gone again, and Demeter is desolate. But there is a return of Thesmophoria when the young wheat is brought from the silo to be with Demeter again.

There are two elements now that need to be translated out of the agricultural transcript into the mythological one. The first is the silo, or summer granary, the second is Megaron, the subterranean chamber into which dead swine were thrown.

While yet in Crete, in the furrow, Demeter gave birth to Ploutos, generated by her consort, Iasion.[30] Now Ploutos is the god of capitalism, of the stored produce, of wealth and abundance, and guardian spirit of granaries, whose familiar is the warden snake.[31] His symbol is the cornucopia of plenty. Ploutos is, therefore, the half brother of Kore, herself born of Demeter by Zeus; he is also her consort, for Ploutos is really Plouton, Lord of the Underworld and King, not only of silos, but of the dead. Therefore, just as in Egypt the god of grain, Osiris, became, after his sowing, Lord of the Dead, so, quite naturally, in Hellas,

30. Homer, *Odyssy*, v. 125.
31. A specialized form of Zeus Meilichios.

the spirit of the underground silo, also became Lord of the Shades. The cornucopia is equally associated with Ploutos and Plouton, and Plouton is but an extension of the underground activities of the wheat-cistern god of prosperity.[32]

A word needs to be said about the swine, the familiar animals of Demeter. In the myth, when Plouton appeared in his dark car, and carried off Kore, who was picking flowers (i.e., in the spring, in the time of flowers, in the season of the myrtle and the asphodel), there was a swineherd nearby, brother of our Triptolemos, named Eubouleus, and, when the ground opened to receive the black horses of Plouton, the swine tumbled down the rapidly closing chasm and were lost, so that, as Demeter was without her wheat, the swineherd was equally desolate over his swine. These, however, the remains of butchering, sacrificial animals, and porkers who had died of disease, were all restored to the hero-swineherd at the Thesmophoria, the time of sowing, of happy endings, and of restoration.

We have seen how Dionysos of Crete, the Bull-Dionysos, got into the story because he introduced plowing with oxen, but the Dionysiac element is important, also, in another connection. Demeter, staying as a wandering guest in the house of the King of Eleusis, reared three foster children in her time of Black or Brown Demeter, her time of sorrow and desolation. One of these was Triptolemos, the other Eubouleus, the swineherd, and the third was Iacchos (B plus Iacchos equals Bacchos), who became the Greek or, rather, Athenian, patron of wine. Iacchos led the joyful procession from Athens that went down to Eleusis (fourteen miles) to be gladdened and exalted by the Mystery. Also, as a kind of intensive summary of all the fertility elements, a kind of adding up of the brown body of Demeter, the rain of Zeus, the fertilizing compost of swine flesh,[33] the germinal seed of the new wheat of the Maiden, the phallus of Dionysos became part of the myth and hence part of the rite, and was veiled in a basket and revealed to the mystae, very much as the linga of the Lord Śiva has become, in India, a kind of sacramental real presence of the divinity of fertility.

There remains in the richness of the mythological material still another figure, Poseidon, Lord of the Sea, brother of Demeter and her

32. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

33. Fertilization by the Indians of corn plantings in Massachusetts Bay Colony was by a fish to each hill.

assaulter, under the form of a stallion.[34] Poseidon, of course, as the source of moisture, as the mist sweeping inland over the Rarian Plain, was important to agriculture; but, also, as the source of purification and lustration, he was a necessity to the Eleusinian Rite. On one of the early days of the Greater Mystery of Eleusis, the cry went up αλαθε μύσται—"to the sea, mystics," and the lustration in the waters of Poseidon began.

There is one final character among a host of other figures. The rites of Demeter began in the household of the King of Eleusis, and was a family affair, which was why slaves were admitted, and the rite, from the first, was secret, because only members of the family and guests and household slaves were present. The first hierophant was the King Eumolpos, and the priests of Eleusis were, thereafter, the Eumolpidae, his descendents. He is pictured on the vases as a kindly old man, host to Demeter, crowned, and with a swan, symbol of his "sweet singing."[35]

3. *Mystical:*

In dealing with the mythology I have already touched on shreds of the rite and liturgy of Eleusis. One cannot penetrate much further really, in spite of the evidence of St. Clement, who gives some account based on Christian converts who had divulged the secrets of the Mystery. Those who came to be initiated were baptized in the sea; sacrificed a pig to Demęter; drank of the barley water (the *kykeon*); were enthroned on the ram skin; touched with courageous hand the snake of the goddess; were shown the face of death; saw the symbol of the compost (the swine flesh fertilizer) antitype of the corrupt body of this death;[36] were attendant at the marriage of the Lord and Lady of Heaven and at their bridal union; saw the phallus of Dionysos; ate the seed of a poppy; and, last of all, came, after much dramatic preparation, to the final epiphany, the showing by the hierophant of a spray of golden wheat, as the ultimate answer to the mystery of the riddle of life and death.[37]

34. Possibly reflects the advents of a tidal wave, destroying, for a time, the fertility of the fields.

35. Harrison and Verrall, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

36. Orphic interpretation of the compost.

37. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 55. The immortality originally symbolized by the Eleusinian Cult was probably racial or protoplasmic or generative immortality, like the wheat, until the Orphic theologians and poets brought their influence to bear on the text.

We come back to the entablature in the quiet of the Metropolitan Museum. To the right, Demeter, symbol of the earth and its life and the deep mystery of its fertility. To the left, our Lady of the Underworld, in all her pale sweetness, speaking to us of the life of the spirit that grows, like wheat, out of the earth, so that the dust that is Demeter, through her sorrow, gives birth at last to the aspirations of humanity and the life of the soul. And, then, central to all, man, the tiller, whose young hands are to sow the mystic wheat, that out of its death new life may spring.

A mere sacrament of food, perhaps, stinking of rotten swineflesh, redolent of the sweat of plowman, sower and flailer, brown with the mud and dust of earth, but to those who have drunk of the *kykeon,* who understand the mystery, who have sensed the living splendor of fertility, who have seen by the torches of Hades the golden symbol of the living wheat, it speaks of the mystery of human life in quiet and gracious poetry, and says to all who will listen that out of the dust of Demeter the splendor of the Spirit is born.

BOOK REVIEWS

History of New Testament Times, with an Introduction to the Apocrypha. By ROBERT H. PFEIFFER. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. xii, 561 pp. $4.00.

"If you steal from one author, it's plagiarism; if you steal from many, it's research." Professor Pfeiffer is too modest when he uses Mizner's witticism as an epigraph to the Foreword of this thick volume, for he has not only digested and presented in a readable form the results of modern scholarship on a wide and complex subject, but he has also contributed personal views on various problems connected with the Apocrypha's literary criticism and interpretation. Having taught this subject to many generations of grateful students, the author now offers the fruit of his labors to a larger constituency, and he does so in a style which is not typical of erudite treatises. He cultivates the vivid, often picturesque sentence, and sometimes even the humorous and pungent detail. For instance, when he says that the Hellenized Macedonians and the Greeks "felt themselves charged with the diffusion of Greek civilization," he adds in a footnote:

> In modern times, this education of the "natives" is quaintly called "the white man's burden," although it usually proves to be quite lucrative. The Bantu in Equatorial and Southern Africa say, "At first we had the land and the white man had the Bible. Now we have the Bible and the white man has the land." (pp. 94 f., note 3).

Again, when the author states that both the gospel and Hellenism were popularized in passing through Rome, he adds in a tongue-in-cheek parenthesis, "or, as they would now say in Europe, 'Americanized' " (p. 98). Allusions to events of ancient or modern history are found throughout the book and not only help make its reading entrancing but also reveal the breadth of the author's culture.

As its title implies, the volume contains two parts, each of which constitutes really a book in itself: first, a political, religious, and literary history of Palestinian and of Hellenistic Judaism from 200 B.C. to A.D. 200 (pp. 5-231); second, an introduction to each of the Apocryphal writings (pp. 233-524). Copious bibliographical references are scattered throughout the various chapters and, in addition, a "selected bibliography" of several hundred titles appears at the end. No one should object if the names of one or two monographs have not been mentioned.

In the first section of the first part, Professor Pfeiffer summarizes with remarkable clarity and impartiality the Hellenistic domination, the Maccabean revolt, the Hasmonean and Roman rules up to the rebellion of Bar Cocheba (pp. 5-45). Perhaps a transition from political to religious history would have been helpful. In spite of the lack of space and of the consequent necessity of stripping the drama to its essentials, the author might have indicated, in the graphic eloquence which is at his disposal, the social and economic forces which, together with the political misrule of a naturally unfertile land, had a considerabe influence upon the growth and transformation of its inhabitants' religion. One may also prefer a different emphasis in the statement: "The *universalistic* and *individualistic* tendencies were grafted on the ancient *national religion* of Israel in the sixth century, if not earlier" (p. 47). Although no criticism of the author's famed *Introduction to the Old Testament* is appropriate at this place, one may question whether "Psalm 2 actually speaks of Alexander Janneus . . ., and Psalm 110 emphatically states that the Lord had made Simon high priest . . ." (p. 48; cf. pp. 21, 63).

Professor Pfeiffer surely faced the old hen-and-egg dilemma when he decided to treat the religion before the literature of the period (pp. 60-90). Inasmuch as the religious life and thinking are known through the literary documents, it might have been advantageous to reverse the order, thus avoiding in the second chapter numerous references to books which are studied only in the third. The Palestinian writings are divided between those originally composed in Hebrew and those preserved in, or translated from, Aramaic. One is able to see at a glance how important, after all, is the literary heritage of that period which may reasonably be considered to have been written in the latter language: among others, Tobit, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Jubilees, Testament of Job, the whole of Enoch (with Torrey and against Charles in the past and Zimmermann in the present), Assumption of Moses, Syriac Baruch, II Esdras. After reading this excellent chapter, packed with scholarly information, one cannot help wishing that the author had added a *third* book to the two which are now included in his volume —namely, an *Introduction to the Pseudepigrapha.* Indeed, the popularity of many of these documents was so great in the first century A.D. that they probably influenced "the History of New Testament Times" more profoundly and widely than the Apocrypha themselves.

The second section of the first part deals with "The Jews in the Lands

of their Dispersion" (pp. 166-230). In order to make them stand against the indispensable background of their life, the author has prefaced this picture with a chapter on Macedonian Hellenism, its history, the main characteristics of its culture, its literature, science, scholarship, philosophy, and religion (pp. 93-165). The compass of the subject is so wide that here, again, the urgency for compression may leave, at several points, the reader's thirst unquenched. For instance, instead of referring to Schürer's *Geschichte,* which is not always accessible, the author might have concretely illustrated the influence of the Stoics' doctrine of *ekpyrôsis* and *palingenesia* upon Judaism and Christianity. Incidentally, the statement on the Egyptian lack of great literature and of philosophy may deserve qualification (p. 95). The sketch of the Hellenistic religions reveals a sense of perspective and nuance, and its exceptional usefulness is enhanced by the inclusion of a few well-chosen excerpts of representative texts, such as the Hymn of Cleanthes (p. 141), Epictetus' advice to the young pupil (p. 144), and Apuleius' description of Isis (p. 155). In the chapter on the Judaism of the Diaspora, the author presents the scanty material dealing with the Mesopotamian Jews, the more substantial information which is available on the community of Elephantine, and the comparatively considerable data which may be obtained on the Alexandrian Jews. Hellenistic Judaism is well characterized by its attachment to the Law, its intellectual pride over its monotheistic beliefs, and its maintenance of relatively high standards of ethics. The attraction which its way of life exercised upon the Gentiles is carefully appraised (pp. 166-96), and the chapter on Alexandrian-Jewish literature (pp. 197-230) provides a sympathetic account of the historical writings, the epic and dramatic poetry, the propaganda works, and especially the philosophical essays.

Each book of the Apocrypha (with the exception of II Esdras) is introduced in detail according to the method which is quite familiar to the readers of Pfeiffer's *Introduction to the Old Testament.* The author takes positions on matters of date, composition, authorship, language, etc., at the same time, he is always careful to present the views of other scholars. The result constitutes the best handbook on the subject available today. More than a work of high popularization, this volume will be indispensable to specialists for many years to come.

SAMUEL TERRIEN

Union Theological Seminary

Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum. Edited by GUIDO KISCH. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1949. vi, 277 pp.

It would seem scarcely credible that a Latin text of some significance, written probably in the first century and printed five times in the sixteenth, should have so fallen into neglect that no scholar was able to identify fragments of it published in 1893 from a Cheltenham manuscript by the great Apocrypha scholar (palaeographer, antiquarian, and master of ghost stories) Montague Rhodes James. In 1898 Leopold Cohn (the editor of Philo) recognized the fragments as deriving from Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities,* and published a long article on that book. Subsequently James himself published a translation of the book, with introduction and appendices (London, 1917). The book is a selective and expanded chronicle of biblical history, breaking off with the death of Saul, embellished by fanciful additions of a Midrashic character. The text is clearly a translation from Greek, as is shown by the transliterations of proper names and the retention of difficult Greek words, and the Greek was as surely a translation from Hebrew, as is shown by the Hebraisms in every line. On internal evidence the date has been fixed (by both Cohn and James) at late first century A.D. Philo cannot have been the author; his name is attached to the work because it was handed down together with Latin translations of genuine works of Philo.

In 1936 Mr. Howard L. Goodhart acquired fine eleventh and sixteenth century MSS of the work, and, on the basis of these, of Sichardus' *editio princeps* (1527), and of readings in other MSS reported by James and others, Dr. Kisch has produced the first edition of the text since the sixteenth century. His edition cannot be termed definitive, for, due to war conditions, he was unable to exhaust the MS resources on Pseudo-Philo in European libraries; but completer investigation can hardly effect great alterations, for it is clear, from uniform lacunae and other considerations, that all our texts go back to a single imperfect archetype, which all follow with reasonable faithfulness. Dr. Kisch has done his work well. The MS authority and traditions are fully examined, variants are carefully recorded, the text is accurately printed. But having so much, it is a pity we do not have more. The palaeographer and bibliographer are satisfied, but the reader receives little help. In keeping with the scope of his work, Dr. Kisch is content to refer to Cohn and James for matters other than textual. James's book, which also records textual

variants and in which the English version is a transparent rendition of the Latin, remains the best single work for studying Pseudo-Philo. James relates the work to such books as Enoch, Jubilees, Apocrypha of Baruch, Fourth Esdras—but the obvious and meaningful affinities are with Midrashic literature, in which James disclaims competence. An examination of these affinities should be the principal object of some future edition, for which the present text can serve as basis. In his *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1938), Louis Ginzberg made full use of the Midrashic materials in Pseudo-Philo (references listed in vol. VII, pp. 537-39); what is wanted is a systematic study which will throw light not only on the nature and value of our book but also on the Midrashim. If the tentative dating is correct, Pseudo-Philo is our oldest substantive Midrashic work.

Certain impressions from a cursory reading of the text may be recorded here. The language of the original was not only Hebrew but a biblical Hebrew, and the Greek must have been of the same literal texture as LXX Pentateuch. A phrase like *ut compleretur verbum quod dictum est* (12.3) shows not only identity with Midrashic (and New Testament) phraseology, but the habitual rendition of *dabhar,* through the Greek and into the Latin, by "word" even when it has the collateral meaning of "thing." There seem to be no reminiscences, on the part of author or translators, of literary works in Greek or Latin. The only peculiarity in this connection is the frequent use of fictive speeches, which, though different from speeches in classical authors, are also different from normal rabbinic usage. Nor does the author show acquaintance with classical science, though he might have shown such acquaintance at a number of passages. There are allusions to astrology and thaumaturgy which might suggest Neoplatonism, but these elements are common to many works in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and not unexampled in the Midrashim.

Columbia University MOSES HADAS

The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond concerning the Acts of Samson, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Edmund. Latin text, edited and translated by H. E. BUTLER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1949. xxviii, 167 pp. $5.00.

Few medieval chroniclers have delineated more vividly the life of their age than has Jocelin of Brakelond. This is the considered opinion,

not only of seasoned historiographers, but also of numerous amateur historians. These neophytes may encounter Jocelin by accident, but they seldom leave him, thereafter, from choice. One must, of course, grant a definite priority in titillating garrulity and literary versatility to the thirteenth-century *Chronica* of Salimbene de Adam of Parma. Nonetheless, Jocelin sustains more enduringly than most chroniclers the reader's intensive examination of the men, institutions, and forces that he fixes in medieval panorama.

It is to John Gage Rokewode's devoted, and generally commendable, efforts in first editing Jocelin's *Chronicle* for the Camden Society in 1840 that we must attribute the origins of modern interest in this indubitably medieval work. Rokewode's labors gave rise to the Rolls Series edition by T. Arnold, and, indeed, to all the more serious work of editing and translating Jocelin, subsequently.

Thomas Carlyle it was, however, who first recognized in the Camden Society's discovery of the long-lost *Chronicle* a new setting, within age-old environs, for the heroic soul of man. In *Past and Present,* Carlyle demonstrated, again, how applicable to any one age are the prevailing humanities of heroic man in another. Man as he was, for instance, in Abbot Samson of St. Edmunds, is forever relatable to man as he may be, for example, in Chartist England—or, for that matter, in any other modern age. A critical but sympathetic perusal of Carlyle's free paraphrase, occasional translation, and sweeping expropriation of Brakelond must leave the reader frequently amazed at the great hero worshiper's deviations; but it will surely find that same reader astounded, more than once, at the eminently discerning interpretations by this classic literator in the nineteenth century of this ageless classic of the twelfth.

With all his obvious desire to saddle his various theses—literary and historical, social and religious, political and economic—upon the unprotesting shoulders of a feudal churchman and his Boswell, Thomas Carlyle could not escape his nobler fate in *Past and Present.* Ineluctable for him was the re-establishment, once more, of the lines of continuity leading backward and forward through the various ages of men and history. In his seeming animadversions upon Jocelin's work, at the outset of his own, Carlyle only threads the needle with which he will knit the chronicled past and the irresolute present together. "Jocelinus de Brakelonda, a natural born Englishman, has left us an extremely foreign Book . . . how remote is it from us; exotic, extraneous; in all

ways, coming from far abroad! The language of it is not foreign only but dead. . . .!" Carlyle is right in finding within this "Boswellian Notebook of Jocelin" no impeccability of language or style. But Carlyle's deft exhumation of the *Chronicle* is possible, not only because of his own considerable way with words, but also because he found in Jocelin a real, living interpretation of a truly heroic and deathless character—the Abbot Samson. Furthermore, with all of his smuggling of others' grist to his own mill, Carlyle cannot bring himself to alter seriously Jocelin's account of St. Edmunds in the days before Samson's rule, the ways of the Abbot Hugh, the inimitable processes of twelfth-century monastic election, the surprising outcome of Samson's elevation, and all the vicissitudes of a great administrator at work in a vibrating society of real men and living institutions.

Recently, certan reviews of this edition of Brakelond, by restrained medievalists, have sought to restore with scholarly urbanity the perspective of mild patronage with which, presumably, we as academic sophisticates should view the *Chronicle*. Even here, however, one has sensed a trace of lingering appreciation for Jocelin's strange but undeniable wizardry. Likewise, in the midst of tolerantly deprecating the values of reading medieval Latin on one page and a good translation on the page opposite, these reviewers have paid tribute to what Jocelin does for the student, young or old, who would know the twelfth century: its literature, religious credulities, political imbroglios, chronic distortions, and societal interdependencies.

So, at last, one comes to Jocelin himself and to Dr. Butler's more than satisfactory setting-forth of him. The editor's work shows an undeviating awareness of the need for combining compact technical aids with clear readable source text and translation. The introduction embraces within its twenty-eight pages a brief survey of the existing manuscripts and printed editions, a crisp account of what is known concerning Jocelin's life, a preview of St. Edmund and his abbey, a resumé of St. Edmund's monastery and its abbots, together with a few pages on the Abbey Church and the Liberty of St. Edmund—all of this capped by a lucid description of the abbey's internal organization. Throughout the introduction there is constant orientation for the reader in the use of key Latin terminology, focal dates, and major places.

The Latin text and translation are identically paged—to the number 139. Footnotes giving textual variants, classical and patristic references,

philological supports, and other clarifying data are appended to the Latin text. Folio references to Harleian MS 1005 are indicated in the margins of the edited source. A series of short, useful appendices provides fuller explanations for different pages of the source text. The index is, unfortunately, limited to proper names. One wonders if some topical headings, interspersed in the margins of the translation, might not have made reading and reference more effective.

From the standpoint of this reviewer, the services performed by the "Medieval Classics" and their editor in this volume are to be appreciated, especially, as a boon to the teacher of things medieval in the context of our own contemporary church and society. Jocelin's *Chronicle,* as already indicated, is a case-study in life as it was lived in the past, and —all superficial evidences to the contrary—a discerning evaluation of much of life as it is ever being lived in the present. The editor's and publisher's concern, here, for a clear text and humanized translation provides the teacher and student with the very resources most needed. Thus, feudal society is available for scrutiny as it actually operated—not in the detached alleyways of overburdened, secondary authorities. When a play on words is referable to Ovid, it is unobtrusively, but helpfully, supplied in the notes. Textual emendations and additions are offered with little ado. Vulgate numberings are distinguished from those of other versions, as needed. A prayer, given by Jocelin in part only, is completed or expanded to the extent felt necessary, in the Latin, via the notes. Du Cange and other lexicographers come into play only as required.

Reading Jocelin in this scholarly, uncluttered rendering, one wishes at times—perhaps a bit greedily—for yet further services. How like, yet how dissimilar, is Jocelin, at given points, to the reactions of Salimbene! Do not the pages on Abbot Samson's administration of convent and abbey church call for some mention of the near contemporary work of Abbot Suger, *On Consecration* and *On Administration,* at St. Denys? One looks, too often in vain, for more extended comments as to the bearing of canon law, relic worship, papal finances, and crusading ventures upon the subject in hand. Invaluable conjunctions with liturgy and hagiography are here—but all too sketchily documented. We may wonder why little or no reference is made to patently antiquated yet always useful works like Dugdale's *Monasticon*—not to mention pertinent current researches in monastic geography and architecture. The

documentation to feudal process and medieval economic procedure is good so far as it goes—but spread all too thin, at times. Golden opportunities to adduce supporting sources on medieval worship, and scholastic, as well as popular, preaching are passed up almost entirely.

Still, one realizes, in all fairness, that these are resources which teacher and student may themselves supply, once a well-edited text and translation are available for cross examination. Dr. Butler, himself an inveterate Latinist, evidently fears the corrupting influences of translation associated with text no more than the Loeb Classical and other source Libraries of their kind.

As for the treasures of Jocelin's *Chronicle,* itself, mention of a few, only, will suffice. The hero for Jocelin as for Carlyle was, of course, the Abbot Samson. It is his character and work, fixed in the center of a specific set of mores, that command basic attention. Carlyle caught them in their representative hues—if, at times, in a too stylized pattern. Of inescapable significance and interest are the early troubles of Samson before he became abbot; his incorruptibility as sub-sacrist; the sad end of Abbot Hugh; and pre-election talk, with its embarrassing train of post-election consequences. The election of a new abbot stands by itself for its sheer humanness as event and for its unquestioned genius as reporting. How Samson, once elected, went his own way of unappreciated fairness and responsibly arrogated prerogatives—paying off predecessors' debts as he went—makes a moving story. He emerges as an intelligent, literate man, alert to the issues of his own day, might (or might not) be expected to do. Here is a preacher in three languages with the instincts and training of a scholar, yet most dedicated to the contemplative life at those points where it issues into the active. Overcome with worries and pastoral cares, he cannot bring himself to put contemplative joys before active duties. He reminds us powerfully of Julianus Pomerius' tribute (*De Vita Contemplativa,* III, 28) to those who, having the love of the contemplative and the scholarly, feel the pull upon them of social obligation via administrative service.

No wonder that Carlyle, himself addicted to polite letters, yet yearning for heroic citizenship in an age of seemingly little men, nostalgically elected Samson for heroizing from out a bygone time. Here, then, was a man! A hater of liars, prolix disputants, and sycophants, the abbot deliberately held himself open to everyman's need, both great and small; giving justice to all comers; studying to be a good jurist, and ever re-

buking bad lawyers by his own good practice. But this man was not satisfied with mere bursts of pious activism. He must regain and dedicate the abbey church, just as he must fight every encroachment upon the feudal prerogatives of the monastery and its landed holdings. The *Chronicle* is full of Samson's lonely night watches; his public waging of his honor against both the blandishments of friends and the incursions of resourceful enemies; his striding into the breach, whether for King Richard or other crusading protagonists; his holding off the unauthorized pretensions of an archbishop until that ecclesiast is both defeated as enemy and won as a friend; his close, yet not over-influenced contacts with princes, kings, and popes; his hardy excommunication of rowdy, tournament-happy knights.

And so it goes. Jocelin's "Boswellian Notebook" regales us constantly, yet with a minimum of effusiveness, concerning Samson's wise "deeds worthy of immortal record and renown." Through it all—unobtrusively but not, as a rule, obsequiously—moves Jocelin. He will not be burnt, as in his rasher youth, by acting before he thinks. So he ponders well whether or not he shall give his abbot any gift; and, if so, what. One gift, however, he does bestow on Abbot Samson: not merely a sheet on which he has written useful feudal accountings, but rather the larger, more enduring one—the gift of immortality.

This, then, is Samson; and this is Jocelin. Dr. Butler has helped give both of them to us all over again; not merely as Carlyle knew them, in their foreign monk-Latin but, even more, as Carlyle himself found them to be—men of a living Past, fit for the needs of a throbbing Present.

RAY C. PETRY

Duke University

Great Saints. By WALTER NIGG. Hinsdale, Illinois: Henry Regnery Company, 1948. 286 pp.

Das Buch der Ketzer. By WALTER NIGG. Zurich: Artemis-Verlag, 1949. 525 pp. Sw. Fr. 25.80.

Great Saints a disquieting book, for saints are uncomfortable people. They are inexorable in their demands, unsparing of themselves, and a reproach to those who do not imitate their rigorous example. Two passions mark the saint. The first is the passion for God. The saint senses the beating of angel wings, and in his life powers are at work which dis-

close the operation of incredible forces. The saint is a worker of miracles, not so much the trivial external kind which are commonly alleged as ground for canonization as the miracles of moving unlikely men to goodness, of assuaging the passions of factions about to cut each others' throats, of driving to their knees multitudes of the supercilious. The second great passion of the saint is for renunciation, the object of which is to eliminate whatever may stand between him and God, be it the body with its passions, the world with its allures, or even human affections however unalloyed. God and God alone is the concern of the saint. The holy man may often find his mortification in heroism and unremitting service for his fellows, but he may also exercise ruthlessness in denying all outlet to natural and powerful affections.

The book is disquieting, however, for quite another reason. There is always the question, were these saints inspired idiots or just plain idiots. The saint is not a saint simply because he believes himself called to a divine mission, nor because he hears heavenly voices, nor because he is led by irrational intuitions, nor even because of vigorous self-discipline. Hitler at the beginning met these tests and, if the Russians had caught and burned him in Poland in the first weeks of the war before all of his diabolical purposes were disclosed, he might have been regarded as something of a secularized Joan of Arc. The author himself recognizes the dilemma and says that the tragedy of Joan is that not only was she right but so also were her judges. Her offense was that she would not submit her visions to the judgment of the Church, for after all the Church must try the spirits whether they be of God. The tragedy is that if voices be of God they can have no judge save God. All of these saints were opposed and commonly by those who also were dedicated, in however perfunctory a manner, to the life of religion. Nothing is more curdling than the stories in this book of the harshness not simply of inquisitors but of priests, monks and nuns towards those in their midst who aspired to holiness.

But there is another disquieting element, namely that sainthood should itself so often trample human affection under foot and reject human responsibilities. I cannot get over a sense of repugnance to the act of Madame de Chantal in rejecting the plea of her fatherless fifteen-year old boy that she stay with him rather than enter the life of religion. Why could she not have stayed for another four or five years until he was on his feet? And as for Nikolas de Flue, who importuned his wife

to release him to become a hermit shortly after the birth of their tenth baby, that was sheer irresponsibility. He might better have found God doing the family washing. There is something downright selfish about some of this holiness. But every time the reader is thinking this the author quotes the text on forsaking father and mother, wife and child. He points out the immense boons to society at large which this irresponsibility made possible, for was it not Nikolas de Flue who reconciled the almost warring city and country districts of Switzerland and thus laid the basis for united confederacy? Was he not then called of God to persuade his wife to take over the children at this juncture in order that he might undertake a larger work? Perhaps it may be so, but the Church might at least have had the good grace to canonize his wife.

The Curé d'Ars is different. He was hearing confessions sixteen to eighteen hours every day. The load was so oppressive that twice he ran away and twice he came back. That is heroism. And Therèse de Lisieux —when I read her biography some years ago I thought that she was just so saccharine as to be sticky, but the picture of her here enduring the malicious slights of her fellow nuns with an unfailing smile, that too is heroism.

The word is rumored that this book which has enjoyed a great vogue in Europe is being neglected in the United States. The Catholics will not touch it because it was written by a Protestant, nor the Protestants because it treats almost exclusively of Catholic saints. That is just too bad for both sides. Curiosity if nothing else should prompt one to try to understand these amazing people who have overcome the meaninglessness of human existence.

The translation is superb.

In the second of these books under review, Dr. Nigg sets himself, in the tradition of Sebastian Franck and Gottfried Arnold, to write a history of the heretics in which the traditional scale of values is reversed. The point is not that the heretic was of necessity right or free from excesses and aberrations, but simply this, that the heretic was a Christian, aglow with religion, akin to the saints and the prophets, often a man in advance of his times, a precursor of that which was to become the current coin of a subsequent generation. To illustrate this theme particular examples have been chosen from successive periods.

The book is divided into sections, the first of which is headed "The

Fathers of Heresy." The first is Simon Magus, of whom the best that can be said, in view of the paucity of materials, is that the portrayal constructed by his opponents is capable of bearing a more generous interpretation. The section on the Gnostics is admirable. They are described as the first Christian philosophers and as the first great ascetics, the precursors of the monks. Origen is included among the heretics because of the final judgment of the Church upon him. His distinction is to be named the Father of Christian Humanism, and his Christian feeling is deemed to have been deeper than that of those who condemned him, because he could not believe that Golgotha was finished so long as one soul remained unredeemed in hell. Marcion was the first to perceive the fall of Christianity and to essay a restoration. He was the first textual critic, the father of the New Testament canon, and the first Paulinist, though the remark of Overbeck must not be forgotten that "No one in the early Church understood Paul except Marcion, and he misunderstood him." Julian the Apostate is characterized as the first to attempt a renaissance of classical paganism, and he it was who raised acutely for the Church the problem of Christianity and culture.

The next section, bearing the caption "The Rending of the Seamless Robe of Christ," deals with the purists who seceded in protest against the relaxation of discipline: the Montanists, Hippolytus, Novatian, and the Donatists. Against the latter Augustine perverted Christianity by originating an apologetic for persecution under the name of Christian love. Section III of the book is entitled "Error as the Path to Truth." From this point of view Arius is described as the one without whom there would have been no Athanasius. Apart from the attempt of Arius to reduce the irrational to the rational, the irreducibility of the irrational would not have been perceived. Again, of Pelagius it may be said that without him there would have been no Augustine, though, in this instance, it is not so plain that truth lay solely with the one or with the other, because the freedom of the will remains a mystery with regard to which any clear-cut affirmation is bound to contain both truth and error. "The Loneliness of the Heretic" is the rubric which includes Gottschalk, who consoled himself for defeat in the struggle for personal freedom by recourse to the doctrine of divine predestination; Erigena, the founder of speculative theology in the West; Héloïse, devotee of Eros and Abélard, founder of the scholastic method—all of them isolated, misunderstood, and maligned in their generation.

From the great sectarian movements of the Middle Ages two examples are taken. The first is that of the Cathari, who are described as the emergence of an underground stream flowing from the Gnostics through the Manichees, Paulicians, and Bogomils. Their contribution was a profound sense of the grip of inexhaustible evil. The other example is that of the Waldenses, who over against the concept of the Church as the dominant power in society set the picture of the Church as composed of the poor and the meek. Against these and smaller groups the Inquisition was called into being. The merit of Nigg's treatment here is that he does not dismiss the Inquisition simply with a cry of horror, but declares that all Christians must assume a measure of responsibility for this monstrous perversion of Christianity. They must likewise recall that the Inquisition has been the greatest inciter of atheism.

Among the mystical movements of the later Middle Ages attention is given to the Brethren of the Free Spirit, with their effort to do justice to Eros as a driving force in life, and to Eckhart, with his overpowering sense of the God of wonder in the abyss of whose being we may ourselves become divine if abstracted from the things of sense. As rebels against priestly authority the author introduces Arnold of Brescia, the lay Christian; Wyclif, the earnest Bible Christian; and Hus of the scrupulous conscience as to precision in speaking the truth. "Step-children of Christianity" is the title bestowed on the witches.

Here ends the account of the Middle Ages, on page 236. There remain less than two hundred pages of the book for the succeeding figures. The choice of heretics must, therefore, become more selective and in a measure more arbitrary.

The next section begins with the Protestant protest, and Martin Luther takes his place at the head of the modern heretics. This method is entirely in accord with the treatment of Sebastian Franck, but if Franck had been consistently followed Erasmus would also have been included. Consideration of space frankly accounts for the omission of Zwingli and Calvin. Luther's rebellion is very properly differentiated from that of all those who preceded him, because his severest conflict was not with the worst but with the best representatives of the Catholic Church, since his attack was directed not agains the life but against the doctrine.

The choice among the heretics of the Reformation was difficult. The author says frankly that he would have been glad to include Schwenck-

feld, Paracelsus, Carlstadt, and Acontius. He has chosen Muentzer, Denck, Servetus, Castellio, and Franck, and this is a very representative selection. Muentzer is interpreted as a Christian, sensitive to the social problem which he sought to solve, first through chiliasm and then through revolution. Denck was the exponent of the gathered Church and a foe of religious persecution. Servetus, burned at the stake at Geneva for a denial of the Trinity and a repudiation of infant baptism, became the *cause célèbre* of Protestant persecution. Castellio, in the name of reason, conscience, and Christian charity, protested against the execution. Franck rejected all of the confessions and envisaged a spiritual Church assembled from among all peoples by the eternal spiritual word of God and devoid of any outward marks. In other words, he dissolved the Church as an external organization.

When the book comes to the modern period, with only a trifle over a hundred pages to go, the choice becomes more rigid and often more questionable. Those selected for treatment are Gottfried Arnold, Bruno, Spinoza, Pascal, Lessing, and Tolstoi. Why not Boehme, D. F. Strauss, Nietzsche, Kierkegaard, Renan, Roger Williams, or Tom Paine? The answer is that so much would call for another volume.

Gottfried Arnold is the one who rewrote church history with a new definition of the heretic as one marked by an obstinate evil will. By this token many of those hitherto reputed to be heretics became, instead, martyrs of genuine Christianity. Bruno was the pagan Christian or the Christian pagan, the first man to be overpowered by the unimaginable distances of the stars. Spinoza was the father of modern biblical criticism, a prophet of religious liberty, and a pure flame of the love of God. To find Pascal among the heretics is rather surprising, though if Luther belongs because of his attack on the pope, Pascal belongs for his onslaught on the Jesuits. He is also a heretic in his philosophy of paradox and in his rejection of authority. Lessing, of course, belongs here, for whom religion was not a deposit but a quest. Finally, there is Tolstoi, who wrote the story of a man declared by the doctor to be sane, but who pronounced himself to be crazy. That man was Tolstoi.

The impact of this book is immense. When the heretics are thus set up in succession, the power of the revolutionary ferment is felt as it cannot be when the dissenters are interspersed in a general church history. But the weakness of the treatment is that the lines of conti-

nuity are severed when the heretics are first segregated and then assembled without the thread of orthodoxy to give them unity.

A work of this scope is bound to be uneven in quality, though the unevenness may lie more in the taste of the reader than in the quality of the performance. I was especially taken by the treatment of the Gnostics, the Inquisition, and Luther, except for the moderns from Gottfried Arnold on, with reference to whom I knew less and about whom I learned more. Here and there along the line, I felt that significant points had been missed. The section on the lonely heretics might have included a consideration of why the heretics in the early Middle Ages were so few. The chapter on Abélard and Héloïse could have discussed the first instance in real life of the clash of variant views of love and marriage: the view of the Church which makes marriage a sacrament, though inferior to virginity; the view of the courts of love which considered love enobling but possible only outside of matrimony; and the view of the scholar who cherished in marriage a literary partnership. And the problem of the authenticity of the correspondence of Abélard and Héloïse is not discussed. In the case of Wyclif and Hus, their most subversive idea, in my judgment, was an interpretation of the Church in terms of predestination with an ethical criterion for the determination of the elect. Thomas Muentzer, as I see him, is chiefly significant as the precursor of all the Protestant theocracies, since he believed that the elect could be recognized by the new birth and could be formed into a community to whom God had given the kingdom.

For the most part, the best secondary authors have been utilized here, but not always. One misses any reference, for example, to Buisson's two volumes on Castellio. But the blemishes are minor and the book is significant.

Roland H. Bainton

Yale Divinity School

From Statesman to Philosopher: A Study in Bolingbroke's Deism. By Walter McIntosh Merrill. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. 284 pp. $3.50.

The Almighty and His Cabinet of angels whom he allows to help Him in the universe were in meeting. The folly of the present world

was noted, and it was urged that some interposition was called for. A miracle was authorized and a committee appointed in the matter. At the next meeting progress was reported in the study of the program. But, at the third succeeding meeting, the committee reported bafflement, indeed failure. A number of miracles had been put on. It could not be said they were without effect: the scientists had been given great work; great ingenuity had been evoked; and considerable changes had been embodied in science. But no scientist had even thought of a miracle, and, if any public man had had such thoughts, he had been careful to say nothing. Only a few who had been very willing to see miracles right along gave any credence, and even these were disposed to prefer their own older list of miracles.

The committee therefore suggested that it might be well for the Almighty to give the matter His own attention. He, however, suggested (and it was so approved) that He appoint a more theoretical committee (and it was so appointed) to study the whys of the situation.

The next year this committee of archangelic intelligences reported that there were two relevant facts, of different orders but co-operative: (a) scientists are ingenious and obstinate; (b) science has come to be recognized as an explanation of facts whatever those facts may be or may turn out to be, and facts must be public, preferably repeated and controlled, to be accepted. By (b) it would seem a miracle will not be recognized unless, perhaps, through a psychological defeat which should upset (a), and this (a) itself makes unlikely.

It was true, of course, the committee noted, that Heaven could liquidate all scientists, humble and edify the remaining nonscientists, if any, and then offer miracles. But this could not be proposed as a logical and, therefore, not as a statesmanlike procedure, for it seemed like fitting farsighted lenses to a nearsighted man by first putting out his eyes.

It might, nevertheless, be observed, the committee added, that there were indications the world and its scientists were just about to pursue something like the last-described course on its own volition—or lack of it. The committee still hoped that the Almighty would either propose a procedure or undertake one Himself.

Periods are apt to feel superior to other periods in two respects: in respect of the other period's failure to understand certain doctrines

and problems which, nevertheless (or in consequence), it criticizes; and in respect of certain doctrines and problems of the other period which the self-gratulating period fails to understand.

I think we are justified in feeling that much of the eighteenth century's busy criticism of miracles, Bolingbroke's included, is just beside the point. It assents ununderstandingly to an uncriticized belief in the importance of miracles and to an uncriticized belief in the ease with which we could tell a miracle if there were one before us. Doubtless the Eighteenth Century would feel much of our criticism of some of their attitudes just beside the point.

Mr. Merrill several times complains that Bolingbroke argues a posteriori to a theory and then argues a priori from the theory in order to give the facts from which he started the character they need. Mr. Merrill seems to take the eighteenth century view of miracles and its criticism of them seriously, but he could have put his complaint here against the whole period and especially Bolingbroke's school—though, doubtless, for all their bows to "Verulam" they did not think of all natural laws as established a posteriori, still less as in their nature postulational. Miracles are fairly central in deism, and the historical interest, the practical impact, and the theoretic unimaginativeness of the deists' treatment of miracles is symptomatic of the school.

Mr. Merrill gives a careful and carefully documented, in general a judicious account of Bolingbroke's doctrine, and incidentally of the doctrines of the other deists, on God, nature, and man.

The deists are, interestingly, interesting. They (and Bolingbroke sometimes especially) are often tedious, almost typically near the surface, and notably give themselves away for that combination and confusion of modesty and pride which Mr. Lovejoy has made familiar for the whole period. (Mr. Merrill makes good, and acknowledged, use of Mr. Lovejoy's work, though he seems to have missed one essay, *The Chinese Origin of a Romanticism,* which he might at one spot have used.)

But the deists, in part by very dint of their bareness, were useful antagonists of obscurantism and tyranny and, more important for their interest to the historian, they turn up as occupying a central position in a number of movements in and through modern history. This is notably so in respect of that equivocality, from the beginning of the

Renaissance on to now, of the post-medieval doctrines as to the position of man relatively to nature and God.

We are told the Renaissance glorified man. And that Copernicus knocked him out of his central position in the universe. That humanism was a study of texts. That the Reformation freed the individual from sacerdotal authoritarianism and was a return to a God-fearing life. That Bacon voices the modern faith that by natural science man remakes the world to his purposes and that science then and ever since denies purpose, leaves value an illusion and nature blind.

The deists are late enough to be free of the perplexing richness of the Renaissance and the confident profundities of the seventeenth century; early enough to be free of the perplexing relativities and transcendentalisms of later science and philosophy. They defend man's interests against the lingering encroachments of authority and revelation without giving up God, value, and optimism. Yet their self-satisfied inadequacy shows that the real claims of authority and revelation and relativity and skepticism are just without witness or counsel in that court.

Bolingbroke, not always classed as a deist, is, by Mr. Merrill, shown pretty surely to belong there. But he came comparatively early (though his publication was late) and, like the earlier Herbert of Cherbury and the young contemporary of his youth, Shaftesbury (though certainly less than either of these), he shows natural religion before it fully settled into deism. Also, like Shaftesbury and Hutcheson and the greater Berkeley (though certainly less than these), he suggests that the times might have turned from discouragement with the rationalistic system-making of the seventeenth century to a revival of the mystic and romantic threads of the Renaissance at the beginning rather than the end of the eighteenth century—had not other factors sent fashion into worldliness and intellectualistic empiricism and classicism. Just as the "fox-hunting parson" came before Wesley and Law, so deism came between the Herberts and Coleridge.

These surrounding speculations and patternings Mr. Merrill, probably judiciously, avoids. He separates the themes of deism and expounds and illustrates Bolingbroke in concert with or variance with other deists. The favoritism of attention probably raised Mr. Merrill's estimate of his subject; but it may fairly be said that he succeeds in rescuing Bolingbroke from the severer opinions passed upon him—

notably by Stephen, from whom most are apt to learn about deism. "He was as original as most of the deists and the most comprehensive of them all."

Probably the most novel thesis of the book—at least negatively and plausibly supported—is that Bolingbroke "was not appreciably influenced" by Shaftesbury and may not have read him. This demolishes a commonplace, especially of background for *The Essay on Man*. Apparently Bolingbroke's chief source for his theodicy was Archbishop King, and Pope's "echoes" of Shaftesbury, as his echoes of Leibniz, will have to be accounted for, as the mutual echoes of that pair have to be, otherwise than directly.

There are other interesting points in Mr. Merrill's book.

Bolingbroke's opposition to anthropomorphism extends to a denial that we can assert any attributes of God except power and wisdom. This puts him in a basic topic on the other side from most natural religion and naturalism—against, for example, Mill's classic eloquence on the goodness of God.

Bolingbroke "developed" with "more thoroughness" than any of the other deists an ethical theory, but this theory is itself notably, even for the inconsistent Bolingbroke, inconsistent.

Bolingbroke's opposition to "priestcraft" is partly balanced (as in Shaftesbury) by his opposition to Hobbes. Mr. Merrill cites Bolingbroke's opinion (without noting its inaccuracy) that Hobbes denied any "distinction between right and wrong" prior to the state. Bolingbroke counters with the somewhat Shaftesburian assertion of reason and social nature. Here Mr. Merrill quotes Clarke in the suggestion of a more rationalistic response, and he might well have quoted, and Bolingbroke might well have used, Wollaston, whom he is shown to have known, and who is chiefly known to us for his doctrine that all wrongdoing is of the nature of lying or self-contradiction.

The similarity of Wollaston at this point to Kant has been noticed. Actually Hobbes is closer to Kant in language and spirit than is Wollaston. Mr. Merrill does not raise these points, but I was struck by a sort of supporting Kantian flavor in the citations which Mr. Merrill does give from Wollaston: "An ingenious theory which reconciles particular and general Providence. . . . God can foresee how man's free will will decide any given circumstance" (pp. 56 f.); "A future life is necessary to vindicate God's goodness and justice" (p. 100); "The soul

. . . 'acts under limitations' " in its " 'capacity of thinking' " (p. 123); " 'Reason is something universal, a kind of general instrument, applicable to particular things and cases as they occur' " (p. 140).

Bolingbroke (this is shown but not said by Mr. Merrill) was as ununderstanding toward the Cambridge Platonists and toward Plato as toward the difficulties of asserting or denying miracles. He was more of a student and follower of Bacon (as was probably his century in general) than has usually been seen. Berkeley he classed along with Plato and Malebranche as "poet." He especially read and praised Montaigne, and Charron even more.

Mr. Merrill suggests without accenting that Bolingbroke's wish for a divorce had more influence than straight theory in several of his conclusions.

The book suffers in its early pages by a few typographical errors: as 1770 for 1710 on page 1, and George II for George III on page 15.

The references are constant and careful, but one wishes that at least some of those to Bolingbroke himself were by title rather than just by page in a collected "Works." To be sure his writings, even more than Bacon's, tempt to such treatment, especially as most were published only so.

Albert L. Hammond

The Johns Hopkins University

Cornerstones of Religious Freedom in America. Edited, with an introduction and interpretation, by Joseph L. Blau. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1949. viii, 250 pp. $3.00.

This book is the fourth in the Beacon Press "Studies in Freedom and Power." It consists of a general introduction to the subject, brief interpretative essays preceding each topic, and pertinent selections from the writings of thirteen American thinkers. The organization of the materials is roughly topical within a chronological framework. The period covered is from the time of Roger Williams to the recent Supreme Court decision in the McCollum case; and the topics discussed are as varied as the rights of religious minorities, enforced sabbath observance, and the separation of religion and public education. The list of writers includes the names of Roger Williams, William Penn, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Horace Mann, and Felix Frank-

furter, along with a number of less well known but influential Americans.

Professor Blau's introduction contains, in addition to the conventional indication of purpose and scope, two significant contributions to current polemic. The first of these is a series of distinctions designed to dispel terminological confusion and consequent disputes. Thus "religion" as personal belief is distinguished from "religion" as the organization through which this belief is expressed; and "freedom of conscience," as a claimed exemption from civil obligation, is shown to be only the negative side of general "religious freedom." The positive form of this concept, as a right to act, indicates, historically, at least three distinguishable though not necessarily antagonistic types of right: "freedom of worship," the right of the individual to believe and to express his beliefs within the broad limits of social welfare; "freedom from religion," or the right to disbelieve and reject in part or whole, and without consequent civil disability, the conventional religion; and "freedom of religion," the right of organizational practice, which, too often, tends to become an unjustified claim to supra-legal status.

A second contribution is a description of current tendencies and practices which threaten to breach the painfully erected wall of separation between religious and civil function, for instance, sectarian invasion of the public schools in a number of areas, successful attempts by organized religion to censor major media of communication, and religious interference even with certain aspects of medical practice.

All liberal minds must applaud the vigor and courage of Professor Blau's attack on the thorny problem of religious freedom, and most will agree with his major conclusions; but there are two points of disagreement and one caution which I feel constrained to voice. I believe with the author (p. 6) that "it is wrong and immoral" to accept a certain right while denying it to others; but I am not convinced that the immorality of the position needs no demonstration. If it were the case that the acceptance of a religious right by a person self-evidently entails the obligation on his part to grant it to others, it should follow that a great deal of controversy, including much of that detailed in the rest of the book, has been wasted. On the contrary, I believe the establishment of the principle in question to be one of the most persistent and basic problems in ethical theory.

A more serious question concerns Professor Blau's tendency to place

problems of freedom, even contemporary ones, in the context of a narrow Jeffersonian individualism. I should be dubious, for example, that we can achieve non-discrimination in housing, employment, and education by simple teaching, without recourse to legislation. History suggests to many of us the value of legislatively established institutions as long-term educative devices in such matters.

The caution is a broad one to the effect that it is not sufficient to oppose successfully this breaking down of the wall of separation. We must also, and more positively, find some method of meeting the current demand for education in values, which I believe to be one source of the movement described. If, as some believe, the home and the church, unaided, are inadequate to the task, it then devolves upon the schools, which should operate in this project independently of religious teachings.

The selections contained in the book, together with the excellent topical introductions, serve well the author's indicated purpose of freshening our awareness both of the beliefs and practices against which the long battle for religious freedom has been waged, and of the reasoning in terms of which we have justified the emergent ideal. It is heartening, in this present period of reaction, to read anew Jefferson's bold proclamation that "it is error alone that needs the support of government; truth can stand by itself," and his blunt assertion that "it does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are twenty gods, or no God"; and we are reassured in the calm, reasoned conclusion of Justice Frankfurter: "We have staked the very existence of our country on the faith that complete separation between the state and religion is best for the state and best for religion. . . . If nowhere else, in the relation between Church and State, 'good fences make good neighbors.' "

This is a hard-hitting book, and most of those who deplore the "secularization" of public education, or those who ask for government aid for parochial schools, will like neither the author's list of selections nor his use of them; for by means of this study Professor Blau has placed the burden of proof in this contemporary controversy squarely upon the shoulders of the petitioners. It is now theirs to show the great need which would justify the reversal of a three-hundred year old trend in American thinking and practice.

WILLIS MOORE

University of Tennessee

The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism. By LEONARD J. TRINTERUD. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1949. 352 pp. $6.50.

The first half of this excellent history of Presbyterianism in Colonial America takes the story to the Reunion of 1758. Then the story is interrupted by two chapters (10 and 11), which survey respectively the theology and the sociology of the American Presbyterian churches on the eve of the Revolution. Chapters 12-16 continue the story up to the founding of the General Assembly in 1788. Both geographically and dramatically the story centers in two institutions, Tennent's "Log College" at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, and The College of New Jersey at Princeton; for these two centers of American Presbyterianism served to transform what were at first scattered and bitterly divided groups of British dissenters into a well-governed, American church. The first half of this story, culminating in the schism of 1741, is the most exciting part, and as Dr. Trinterud tells it, it takes on almost epic quality, for in it emerge the basic religious and social conflicts that constitute the stuff of American history and that formed American character and institutions.

Beginning in 1730, three groups of Presbyterians waged a three-cornered thirty years' war in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. There were the New England Puritans, who retained most of their Congregational theology and independence as they spread to the South and West. Though they "consociated" into presbyteries and even tolerated synods, they were essentially English disciples of the Federal Theology and were only indirectly interested in Calvinist orthodoxy. They were incipient liberals; their leader was Jonathan Dickinson. Then there were the newly arrived Scotch-Irish "Subscriptionists," who carried their intransigent demand for subscription to the letter of the Westminster Confession from Ulster and Scotland to their new homes, and who took for granted that in America, too, they would be fighting the English. They were the stiff backbone of the Old-Sides faction, a hard-thinking, hard-drinking lot, on whom Dr. Trinterud wastes little sympathy. Their leaders were the fornicator, Robert Cross, with whom the story opens, the drunken Samuel Black, the politician John Thomson, and the upright, scholarly Provost Francis Alison. It was against this group that Gilbert Tennent, in 1740, preached his "Nottingham Sermon," entitled "The Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry,"

and George Gillespie, himself a Scotsman, complained that this group regarded the ministry as an aristocratic calling, not allowing elders any real part in the life of the church, and ignoring the indignation of laymen toward scandalous ministers. Gillespie was decidedly not an "enthusiast"; nevertheless, he admitted that the Revival to which the Old-Sides were so bitterly hostile was opposed "by vile sinners, formalists, lovers of smooth things, sellers of strong drink, storekeepers, gracious persons who were in great decays spiritually, by some ministers and by Satan" (p. 114).

Thirdly, there was a group of reformers, "new-lights," known theologically as "experimentalists" or "conversion experience men." They are referred to by Dr. Trinterud as "the Log College men." In their center was William Tennent, his three sons, and Samuel Blair. This revival group, as Dr. Trinterud says, "intended to have in its membership no Gospel-happy antinomians" (p. 112).

The central thesis of this volume is that it was this New-Sides, reformist group which provided the leadership and impetus for the building of a strong, independent, American Presbyterianism. Though they were a minority in 1741, when they were rudely expelled from synod, they laid the foundations, at the Log College and at Princeton, for an American trained, devout, devoted, and energetic clergy, which soon dominated the Colonial churches and played the central role in creating a united church and a General Assembly. This history, therefore, is definitely partisan, but its thesis is so well established that it seems impossible for any other scholarly historian to challenge it seriously. The turning point was clearly the formation of the New York Presbytery in 1745, which represented an alliance of the New England and the New Light factions against the Old-Sides. Out of this alliance came the College of New Jersey, which soon became the intellectual and political center of a sustained evangelical movement, more enduring than the enthusiasm of the Great Awakening and more enlightening than Scottish orthodoxy. The leadership of Princeton during the Revolutionary generation is abundantly evident in Dr. Trinterud's well-documented account. The only plausible point on which one might quarrel with his interpretation is the question of the role of the New England group, which throughout was a mediating influence. Dr. Trinterud gives ample credit to Jonathan Dickinson, without whose support the Tennents and Whitfield could scarcely have succeeded in the formation of

the New York Presbytery, and whose successors after his death in 1747 brought enough New England support and prestige to Princeton to enable it to take the lead. Another crucial factor in the unification of the Presbyteries was the fortunate choice of a Scotsman, John Witherspoon, as President of Princeton at a critical juncture. By his repudiation of the extremes of New England theology and of New-Sides revivalism, coupled with his radical devotion to the cause of Independence, he gave Princeton a central, moderating position in both ecclesiastical and national politics. However, Dr. Trinterud could undoubtedly acknowledge the importance of these moderating influences in creating something distinctively and enduringly American out of the old-worldly conflict between Old-Sides and New-Sides, and still maintain that the primary spiritual power and leadership for American Presbyterianism came from the Great Awakening.

The most interesting and obscure historical problem is the question of the intellectual sources of the Great Awakening. It appears that the New England origins were fairly distinct from those of the Tennents. Dr. Trinterud gives us a careful analysis of this problem as it concerns the Tennents. Their chief inspiration came, apparently, from the great preaching enterprise of the English Puritans. Another important source was the American Dutch Reformed leader, Frelinghuysen, who had a reputation in Dutch circles as a "Koelmanite and Labadist," and who began a vigorous reform preaching among the Dutch in New Jersey. Neither he nor the Tennents were pietists in the strict sense; toward Moravian and antinomian tendencies in theology the Tennents were hostile. But there was some ground for the charge that they had sympathy for Arian heresies. Their central doctrinal emphases were (1) the necessity of a conversion experience, and (2) the insistence that ecclesiastical authorities have no "legislative power," since the only law needed for the church is the law of Christ, the constitutional founder of the church, and this law is in the Bible. Hence, all "Subscription" to man-made Confessions is a man-made imposition. But what gave to the Tennents and to their Log College their great power was not their doctrines, but their determination to break down "the secure state of the world." Their attack on complacency made them powerful in their own time, and it still makes this excellent account of their labors impressive both as history and as gospel.

HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER

Columbia University

Religionsproblemet hos Nathan Söderblom. By Erland Ehnmark. Lund: S. W. K. Gleerups Förlag, 1949. viii, 296 pp. Kr. 12:50.

The fact that the center of gravity in contemporary theology has shifted markedly in the direction of Scandinavia is due, in large measure, to the impact of the thinking of the late Archbishop of Uppsala, Nathan Söderblom. For although names like Aulen, Nygren, Bring, and others connected with Lundensian theology now are shining in the theological heavens with a brightness all their own, nevertheless, it is quite generally felt in Sweden that Söderblom, in a very real sense, blazed the trail for the advance of theological research within the Swedish Church. Accordingly, evaluations of Söderblom's work and studies in special phases of his theology are appearing, not only in Swedish, but in Dutch, German, and other languages.

In the present book, the author uses as Introduction echoes from two of Söderblom's essays—"De stackars dödlige" (The Poor Mortals) and "Tro, Gudstro" (Faith, Belief in God)—to confront the reader with the essence of the "religious problem." The question involves religious certainty. Is faith worth while? Is faith necessary? Is faith possible? Then follow nine chapters, dealing in turn with: The Science of Religion, Faith and Knowledge, Religious Experience, Personal Background, General Revelation, Mysticism and Metaphysics, Christinanity and Other Religions, The Truth in Religion, The Guest Within.

In the first two chapters, the author deals especially with science and its relation to religion according to Söderblom, and, in the subsequent ones, rather with his concept of revelation and the nature of religious experience.

He succeeds well from the beginning in setting forth the basic and determining concepts of Söderblom's theology, and indicates the latter's affinity with certain earlier thinkers, of which especially two are outstanding—Sabatier and the Swedish historian and philosopher, Geijer. Not only has Ehnmark, with keen analysis, traced the similarities between Söderblom and these favorites of his, but having had access to the particular copies of their works in which Söderblom had underscored passages and made his marginal notes, he has been able to gather firsthand information of Söderblom's immediate reaction to their ideas.

Within the framework of the discussion of the relation between faith and knowledge falls Söderblom's concept of "miracle." Science does not

deny the miraculous, it ignores it. It must ignore it, because "miracle" cannot find place in the necessary sequence of cause and effect which science observes everywhere.

The concept of the miraculous in religion has its essence, not in the outwardly miraculous, but in that which to faith is the ingress *(ingripande)* of the Living God into the lives of men—sometimes in answer to prayer. . . . The characteristic of the supernatural is not its opposition to the natural, as if, in addition to the usual, normal events, also others should occur, which by their unlikeness to the usual could be said to be of supernatural origin; but it is that divine influence which faith recognizes as operating through the natural (p. 48).

Comparing the "primitive" or "pagan" concept of miracle with that of the Christian, Söderblom says:

To the primitive mode of thinking, to the heathen, . . . the miraculous is that which one does not understand. To Christian faith, the miraculous is the opposite, namely that which faith *really* understands. . . . Pagan thinking isolates from the current events certain unexplainable happenings and considers them miracles. The essence of the miracle, then, is its quality of being unexplainable. Faith in the miraculous lives by the gaps, by the things which it cannot explain. For this reason, the number of miracles is constantly decreasing, in proportion as the explanations increase. At last the miraculous is doomed to extinction (p. 49).

But this whole line of reasoning, according to Söderblom, is erroneous in that it conceives of science as potentially adequate. Science, however, is limited by reason of its own nature, not because of the boundary which is moved every day and which separates the region of which science has made a detailed map from the land of the yet unknown but knowable. Science does not explain everything. There is a reality which science does not reach, a reality of a different nature, which only faith apprehends (p. 76). And here Söderblom insists on a separation between faith and knowledge.

Religious knowledge is never anything else than faith, and must not pretend to be anything else. Concerning that reality which science does not know one can have only a concept based on faith; on the other hand, that which faith apprehends as reality is inaccessible for adequate knowledge. Knowledge does not attain to the absolute, because this would in that moment become relative (p. 76).

To the strictly supra-natural outlook which is characteristic of Christianity, the work of God and His world in general are a miracle, in the degree to which the gracious will of God is revealed in them. This will, and not the apparent causes, is the real element of unity in the universe. Thus, to revealed religion, miracle is not the unexplainable or the amazing, but that which faith apprehends. To the degree faith senses God's nearness and discerns a divine purpose in the events, these appear as miracle and revelation (p. 44).

Söderblom's well-known personal piety and mysticism color the material in Ehnmark's subsequent chapters, in which are reflected, on the one hand, the sensitive appreciation the great man had for the truth found in non-Christian religions, and, on the other, the deep conviction and personal experience he felt of the uniqueness of Christianity. His extensive research and wide knowledge of basic concepts in ancient cults of other continents had led him to the conviction that "there are possibilities of arriving at Christian faith from different directions; that the one New Testament is the completion and clarification of the sacred books of the many religions" (p. 280).

In the chapter on "Christianity and Other Religions," Ehnmark deals with the apparent inconsistency of Söderblom in claiming for other religions—notably Hinduism and Buddhism—a share in the one ultimate world religion, while he still holds also to the uniqueness of Christ; in seeming to view the "onward march of religion toward world-history" sometimes as a competitive effort, sometimes as a syncretistic melting together of the most vitally useful elements in the world of religion (pp. 242 f.). The author comments as follows on this observation: "One can hardly say that it is easy to follow his (Söderblom's) line of thought." And further: "Söderblom is from the beginning firm in his position that Christianity is the perfect religion, but he is seeking for a formula in which this conviction might be reconciled with his equally firm certainty that religious truth exists also outside of Christianity" (p. 240).

Ehnmark justifies Söderblom's position as unmistakably Christian by means of quoting from his *The Living God* (1932) the following paragraph, which he calls his "defense of Christianity":

These two points, the unique position of Christ as the historical Revealer of God, the Word made flesh, and the mystery on Golgotha, manifest, in an analysis of all religion on earth, an essentially unique quality of Christianity. Let us speak simply and leave out the doctrinal nuances and say: it is not a work of man seeking God, but a work of God, who is seeking man (p. 270).

The author adduces a rich supply of quotations from Söderblom's writings, which testify to the reality and centrality of his inner experience of God.

> The content of religious experience is described in such terms as lay the main emphasis on the assurance of God's love, on oneness with God, a sense of the right of homestead in the spiritual reality, on the living experience of connection with the divine, in short, on the certainty of the "adoption of sons," to use a biblical and Lutheran term. The content of this experience does not consist in that which can be made into concepts and expressed in theorems; it does not mean a widening of one's own area of knowledge. The experience can really not be described, cannot be interpreted in terms and concepts (p. 121).

Ehnmark's book is valuable in giving a thorough and well-documented insight into Söderblom's theology, and serves admirably in summarizing the religious thinking of this prominent churchman and ecumenical leader of a generation ago. It is equally useful for those who have been hitherto unfamiliar with Söderblom and those who have read his works.

The nine pages of "Notes" at the end are worth while in that they suggest interesting comparisons with other theologians, as well as with other authorities on Söderblom. In his effort at completeness, the author has made his book perhaps a little more voluminous than necessary; however, his style is easy and lucid, and the reader finishes the book satisfied that it has accomplished its purpose.

Otto H. Bostrom

Hamma Divinity School

Christianity and Civilization. By Emil Brunner. Part II. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949. 143 pp. $2.50.

This book comprises the second series of Gifford Lectures delivered at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, in March, 1948. In this book Professor Brunner discusses the relationship between Christian faith and civilization, and the contribution Christianity can make to civilization in the solution of its crucial problems. He is the brilliant and influential professor of theology at the University of Zurich. He writes from a positive Christian point of view. As all readers of Brunner know, he has read very widely and reflected deeply upon these problems.

Professor Brunner's fundamental thesis is that there is a radical difference between Christian faith and culture. The main business of Christianity is not to create or to buttress civilization. Its main concern is to witness effectively to God's revelation of an eternal, transcendent order. Its testimony is that God calls and enables men to live within their earthly kingdoms as citizens of His eternal kingdom. Loyalty to the eternal city of God generates within men a vital and intelligent concern for human welfare here and now. Through what happens to *them* in their communion with God, they become men of sterling integrity, men who have creative ideas, men whose hearts throb with goodwill, men who are willing to labor sacrificially for the good of all. The Christian faith does not exist because it is a useful adjunct to culture. It exists in its own right. And yet, "it is the paradox of the Christian existence," writes Brunner, "that its other-worldliness proves to be the strongest force of renewal and preservation in the different domains of cultural life" (p. 141).

Nine specific problems of Western civilization are considered. In each case he analyzes these problems, shows how they have arisen, and discusses the contribution that he believes Christian faith can make. A discussion of two of these problems will indicate how Professor Brunner's mind works.

The newest problem is that of technics. The advance here has wrought more social changes in the past two centuries than in all the previous history of mankind. Technics create the possibility of doing good or evil on the large scale. But along with this rapid technical advance, there has been a moral decay within the lives of the men who are using these devices. For the modern secularized man material values are predominant, all moral standards are social conventions, and all laws are man-made. Modern men have been confident that they could create a wholly satisfactory life with their own wisdom and power. But it is now obvious that the majority of men use their technics to satisfy their creature comforts, to increase their wealth and power, and to make war. Men do make good uses of these advances, but their evil uses thereof are creating the dominant trend of Western civilization. The totalitarian state, using these technics, threatens the destruction of civilization. "As long as material values indisputably take the first place, no change for the better is to be expected" (p. 15). Christian faith puts men into a dynamic relationship with the living God, who enables them

to use their newly discovered technics for the recreation of civilization.

The right use of power is another problem. Technics and modern methods of production have now put tremendous power in the hands of men. This power is being used to impress and to coerce men. Power creates prestige and dependence. While there are men within the economic order who wield great power, it is now mainly centralized in the state. The totalitarian state stands at the apex of the various systems of power; it extends its sway over the whole of life. It brooks no control of any sort. It has resisted the attempts to control it through the League of Nations and the United Nations. The latter he already writes off as a failure. Professor Brunner believes that there is only one power in the world great enough to harness the totalitarian state, namely the power of God. The totalitarian state, "the Satanic incarnation of our time," can be overcome only by men in whom there dwells the power and the wisdom of God. This power moves men not by compulsion but by conviction. Should men decide to let this power work in their lives, there is a chance that this problem can be solved. Professor Brunner does not think that chance is very great. Despite these gloomy prospects, he calls upon all men to avail themselves of the power and the wisdom of God. This is "the one bright feature in the picture: that Christian faith, love of God, and love of one's fellow men, does act as a political factor inasmuch as it works against the misuse of political power and works for that use of political power which is for the common good" (p. 125). In the struggle to attain order, justice, love, and peace here in history, even though that struggle may not save Western civilization, men are trained and fitted for citizenship in that eternal kingdom whose builder and maker is God.

Many Christians as well as many non-Christians will not accept Brunner's conclusions concerning the dark prospects for Western civilization. But have not all the great prophets of high religion pointed out the end result of a civilization which lets its moral and religious foundations decay? They all ask for a new, positive, decisive faith in God. That faith puts men into a relationship with God whereby they become new men. Such new men can help create the foundations for a new and better civilization. The system of values and ends, and the moral quality of the men who operate it, determine in the last analysis the character of any civilization. Positive faith in God releases in human life the cleans-

ing, healing grace of God, whereby men are recreated, socialized, and transformed. Men whose citizenship is in God's eternal Kingdom play the creative roles in man's temporal kingdoms.

Professor Brunner has discharged his obligations as a Gifford lecturer with distinction. He has added another valuable contribution to an invaluable series. He finds insights in Christian faith which cast new and fresh light upon all the problems that plague men. There is more wisdom and more power available in Christianity than many Christians and non-Christians have realized. This is a small but magnificent volume which all students of these universal problems of our time ought to read and ponder.

E. Jerome Johanson

Hartford Theological Seminary

Hindu View of Christ. By Swami Akhilananda. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1949. 291 pp. $3.00.

Swami Akhilananda's study of the character of Jesus and of his religious principles shows wide reading and deep insight. It is a good example of how one of another faith should approach another's religion. The author is a member of the Ramakrishna fellowship, itself both liberal and missionary in spirit. He is quite impassioned in his disapproval of such interpreters of Christian ideas as Barth, Niebuhr and Hogg, supporting as he does aggressive, positive social and religious advance.

> To Hindu thinkers who study the life and teachings of Jesus, the interpretation of the neo-orthodox theologians . . . does not conform to true Christian principles. We do not find any trace of compromise in the teachings of Christ nor in the ethical principles of His life. Neither did He advise His followers to make a distinction between absolute and relative ethics (p. 169).

> The history of Europe for the last few centuries convinces us that the application of physical force, or force for force, created a vicious circle and brought out more and more venomous tendencies in man. Those who adopted the first method of aggression and physical conquest of individual and collective obstacles have created more and more problems, bringing the world to a frightening state where even thoughtful persons are apprehensive of the complete annihilation of the human race (p. 182).

Jesus, the Christ, by way of the Cross taught the world that aggression is not the method for solving the problems of life or conquering the obstacles. He used the second or spiritual method (p. 183).

The Swami is not happy with many Christians, but he is in sympathy with Christian ideals and activities. He speaks as a Hindu, and we agree: "Religion is second-hand, a matter of theories, philosophies and theologies, so long as we have no experience of God, no direct and immediate knowledge of God" (p. 52).

The chapters on "Christ and Everyday Problems," "Christ and Power," "Christ and the Cross," "The Spirit of Easter," and "Teaching and Preaching" are stimulating. Here is a great deal of acceptable religious truth well set forth. While the author often writes as if his insights have been missed by Christians, the implied criticisms of followers of Jesus deserve consideration.

There is a certain amount of readjustment in the author's definitions of certain aspects of Hinduism. His handling of "incarnation" works out close to the Christian conception of "prophet." In fact, this term is undergoing a definite, wider interpretation in India today, so as to include many outstanding men. In treating Jesus as a Yogi, he modifies the technical definition of Yoga. "In India it means union with God, as we read in the teachings of Sri Ramakrishna. Patanjali, the founder of *yoga* systems, defines it in his *Aphorisms:* 'Yoga is restraining the mind-stuff (Chitta) from taking various forms (Vrittis).' " But this verse means the *stopping* of the mind's activity. As Dvivedi renders the *Sutra,* "Yoga is the *suppression* (italics the reviewer's) of the transformations of the thinking principle." See also Professor Dasgupta's *Yoga Philosophy* (p. 341): "Here there is no actual mental state of any kind, but pure vacuity." He is speaking of *samadhi.*

The disservice which early missionaries rendered by using Western technical terms for Indian ideas is now functioning in the other direction. Both Hindus and Christians need to abandon this practice and to try to find ways of presenting their ideas which will be closer to the meanings. Both faiths would show up better. What is of great value is the Swami's showing of wide areas of the religious life where the two systems might co-operate and which offer a foundation for fellowship.

The last chapter, dealing with Christian missions, deserves careful reading. "We are firmly convinced that sharing of religious experiences

should be the basis of missionary activities of any group. In general, that is the safest attitude. Any Hindu of real spiritual understanding cannot help but support the Christian missionary activities in India on this basis" (p. 248). The author lays much emphasis upon the quality of the teacher.

Frequent references are made to modern religious leaders in India, Swami Vivekananda, Sri Ramakrishna, and Swami Brahmananda, and to such Christians as J. J. Kumarappa and Eddy Asirvatham.

In these days of national awakening the question arises whether foreign Christian missionaries will be welcome in India. There are problems affecting both Indian Christians and other Indians to be adjusted. Of course there is no place for the missionary who is ignorantly critical of Hindu views and practices, those about whom Akhilananda says: "Often these criticisms bespoke of utter misunderstanding and confusion of even the Hindu philosophical and psychological concepts" (p. 262). The problem is complicated.

> We do not mean that the support of the national cause is an indication of the validity of the Christian missionary activity. But we want to make it clear that the Indian has reason to think that many Christian missionaries, directly or indirectly, supported various types of imperialism. No Indian can minimize the services of Christian missionaries in the field of education, medicine and agriculture (p. 265).

> It must be admitted, however, that some Christians, both Western and Indian, have not cared in the past to understand the religious ideals of the Hindus. But as we have been watching the national movements of Indian Christians, we are convinced that they are fully aware of Indian culture and of its contribution to world civilization. This understanding of the Indian and of some Western Christians has completely removed any doubts that may have been in the minds of some observers. We are sure that this very understanding and appreciation of Hindu ideals in religion on the part of Western Christians will strengthen the bond between these two religious groups (p. 267).

We do not follow all that the author says, nor are we expected to. We do appreciate the spirit of sharing which he emphasizes and the insistence that Hinduism contains much worth sharing with Christians. And we are wholly agreed that the two religious groups can work for each other's good and for the betterment of life in India.

George W. Briggs

Drew University

Der Gegenwärtige Christus: Versuch einer Theologie der Geschichte. By Friedrich Delekat. Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag 1949. 220 pp.

Several books have recently appeared on the theme of a Christian interpretation of history. This book, the first draft of which was written by a German Christian during the war, is similar in general approach and understanding to such men as Niebuhr and Löwith. Such characterization does not exclude the vast and irreconcilable differences between any of them; it simply implies a similar spirit in the framework of approach. In the case of Delekat, various facets are developed with such freshness and thoroughness that the book is a definite contribution for those already acquainted with the preceding writers. It is on this aspect of the book that this review will center.

It has often been asserted that the sense for history has arisen out of the Christian framework, and that most recent interpretations are dependent upon this contribution even when Christianity is denied. Dr. Delekat's book presents a most convincing case for this contention. Without depreciating the Greeks, he points out that the dimensions of history, which include past, present, and future, did not really arise in terms of any fundamental total unity except in the Hebrew-Christian tradition. His insistance that many interpreters borrowed from the Christian context without knowing it is buttressed by much documentation from the history of thought. Such evidence even reveals definite structural elements which have arisen primarily on Christian soil, such as some form of center (i.e., some form of Christ), a *telos* or end, or an eschatological expectation. The following is but one example. Although the Enlightenment considered Christ present in humanity, Delekat finds it significant that it could not give up the idea of a Christ.

A less debatable and equally penetrating historical analysis is Delekat's account of the forces at work since the Reformation. From Luther to Goeze, who typifies orthodoxy, Delekat sees the transition from *geschichtlich* to *historisch* in the understanding of man. The former referred to the complex constellation of meaning and fact, while the latter reduced history to facts which supposedly carried their own meaning. The result was that a man such as Lessing could not accept Christian history in this *historisch* sense, i.e., in the orthodox, literal fashion. Lessing's answer was to separate religion from any grounding in the historical. Christianity then belonged to the past and lost its power. It became historical only in the past tense, belonging to that relative sea

which the past provides when it no longer lives in the present. Finally, religion itself joined the relativism of the various aspects of culture, now no longer understood under a transcendent dimension. This led to skepticism, and skepticism in turn to power (Nazis). This aspect Delekat feels very strongly. But it must be said that while he is unsympathetic to the relativism which has manifested itself in our time, he also understands the faults of the church in destroying its own possibility of contributing to historical life by a false sense of historicity. For Delekat, both orthodox and liberals were guily of historicizing Christianity, though from opposite perspectives.

Delekat's main point, of course, is that history can be understood and become real history only when seen through the revelation of God in Christ as both creator and redeemer. Here faith and fact are joined, neither determining the other nor unrelated to the other. Redemption, particularly in the interpretation of history, refers to God's presence now in the created universe and the final fulfillment of His plan. Delekat insists that in this way alone can past, present, and future really be combined and supply a destiny which gives meaning to history.

A good part of the book centers in the development of problems related to this theme. One of its major defects is that the various problems are nowhere fully and clearly related to each other. Sections which are very suggestive, such as the attempt to stear clear of the old problem of the "when" of creation through the categories of *Ursprung, Erfüllung, und Ziel,* lose their cogency because the wealth of material has no organic unity.

The European background of the writer is apparent in his insistence that the relation of church and state is the fundamental ethical problem. Contemporary problems, here and abroad, are very urgent in this area, but it is another matter when the author insists that concern for individuals and communities is grounded in a mystical, sectarian, and spiritualistic outlook. This attempt to channel all problems through church and state is even more suspect when the author, rightly insisting that power is one of the fundamental ethical problems, concludes, nevertheless, that the form of the state means very little. Is it not true that it is the problem of power which makes the structure of the state more and more important?

JOHN DILLENBERGER

Columbia University

The Holy Imperative. By WINSTON L. KING. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949. 219 pp. $2.50.

Mr. King's book is a plea for recognizing the interdependence of the religious and the moral aspects of life, especially as these are understood within the Christian faith. He covers a wide field of religious history and interpretation, and makes it plain that he intends to be suggestive rather than systematic and exhaustive in his treatment. He has written a vigorous, interesting essay with a central thesis which is, on the whole, convincingly argued.

The book naturally falls into two parts. The first three chapters give a general interpretation of the relation of religion and ethics. The last five chapters apply these general principles to the Christian conception of the moral life. It is desirable to discuss the first part in itself before moving on to the later analysis.

The thesis is that ethics needs religion, partly because religion is its source, partly because religion gives emotional drive and metaphysical support to moral living, and partly because religious living with its emotional depth and practical activity is a source of new moral insight. Religion, in turn, needs ethics, because it needs to be criticized from a standpoint which maintains a certain tension with religious ideas. In Mr. King's words, "Morality in its youth always speaks the language of religion, and religion always cherishes morality as its own true child" (p. 15). "Ethics, becoming fully self-conscious, often begins to question the necessity of its religious alliance and becomes increasingly critical of religion itself" (p. 17). But any complete separation leads to the enfeeblement of both. Mr. King continues, "Whenever ethics as such aspires to be the whole and sufficient universe for man, or whenever the ethical content of a religion usurps the total field of religious value, they seek to provide values of which they are not capable and pave the way for the invasion of the cultural context by the rank growths of religious cultism and superstition, because the strength of true religious feeling has been fatally sapped (pp. 27 f.). "Ethics can supply the needed critical rationale to religion" (p. 29).

These quotations show that the writer speaks of "religion" and "ethics" as simple entities, a procedure concerning which he expresses his own doubts (p. 77). And it must be said that the argument would be clearer if the content of these terms were specified from the beginning. The somewhat impressionistic treatment of the whole field tends also

to make the author's judgment on some thinkers superficial. His characterization of existentialism is sensitive and probing; but he is usually polemical and inaccurate in characterizing humanism and naturalism. The group of humanists named on page 6 would hardly recognize themselves, I believe; and John Dewey does not use the word God "for the vague sense of unity and sympathy man feels with his environment" (p. 156), but rather for that factor in the structure of human purpose and imagination which makes possible the actualization of ideals.

With these qualifications stated, however, it should be said that Mr. King argues his main point effectively, and he increases the power of his analysis by stating his view of what it is in religion which gives it this double relation to ethics. His theory is that there is a polarity or tension in the religious life itself, a tension which is derived from the fundamental duality of God's power, on the one hand, and "that which ought to be," on the other. He says, "There is usually a standing tension between the goodness and power of God in theological thought. Neither power nor goodness is ever completely established or ever completely surrendered. . . . The conscience of religion and its sense of reality are never quite at ease with each other, its mind and heart seldom at complete peace" (p. 49). There appears to be a further tension in "religion's tenacious conviction of the ultimate oneness of the real and the good which produces its motivating power" (p. 49). I am not quite sure how the author reconciles this with the ethical tension in which it is seen that the good is not yet real.

The discussion becomes more concrete and satisfying when it turns to the Christian interpretation of ethics. The chapter on "The Christian Good" seems to me admirably done. King defines God's goodness as "creative, active, and righteous love." His basic plea is for recognition of the positive evaluation of all the goods of life which this view implies. "The Christian viewpoint has furnished the enduring base for the persistent and serious pursuit of humanistic values" (p. 114). While holding this ground, he shows how it is possible to keep the adventurous and creative element in Christian ethics. His distinction between "mutuality" as a valid ethical principle and "reciprocity" as a calculating use of the other is incisive and valuable.

The chapter on Christian ethics as social value keeps the same quality of balance and restraint in trying to hold the full problem of ethical decision in view; but here the writer seems to me less decisive in his

own mind than he is on problems of interpersonal relations. He sees the problem of war as an illustration of the total moral dilemma and concludes with the general principle: "Here on the plane of practical action the faith faces the fundamental duality of the religious life, that contrast of is-ness with ought-ness, reality with ideality, which vital religious faith seeks to synthesize in its emotional and intellectual life" (p. 197).

The book would gain in power from a more detailed analysis of its central concepts, but it shows a genuine wisdom. It is refreshing to find such an undaunted will to hold philosophical reason and Christian faith together, and to keep the humanistic sense of value as an integral aspect of man's response to the Holy Imperative.

DANIEL D. WILLIAMS

Chicago Theological Seminary

Science and Cosmic Purpose. By KELVIN VAN NUYS. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. 242 pp. $3.00.

The theme of this work is so well stated by the author that it should be put in his own words.

> This book is concerned with the idea of meaningfulness that would give supreme importance to things. . . . We are asking not only whether later science might permit us to believe in meaningfulness in general, back of or behind the world; but whether we might recover a feeling of reverent wonder for such immediate and palpable realities as biology, for instance, reveals underlying human life. Now that we find the human being to require elaborate mechanisms of cell, gland, and nerve pathway for the existence of its soul or spiritual experience, can we understand that a cosmic purpose might have needed this sort of thing, might operate through such solid shapes, might be thus embodied (p. 12).
>
> . . . we are not dealing with a positive proof of God's existence. . . . Our question of purpose at the cosmic level is simply whether we can understand a value idea that would call anyway for the world of modern science's broadest description . . . whether cosmic good purpose is thinkable as originator of this world (p. 19).

Persons of religious sensitivity cannot but feel sympathy with such an inquiry. Who does not know what is meant by "prevalent science and philosophy have a profane attitude toward reality, finding and caring nothing about divine meaning in events"? And the author is

surely right in feeling that this is not a matter of merely intellectual or theoretical concern. The *quality* of living tends to be "profane" and "trivial" when the things we deal with are felt to be so. Reverent wonder contributed a beauty to life when it was intensely felt. Have we necessarily lost this beauty because of our exact knowledge of natural processes?

The author holds that the existence of evil is the "essential block to belief in cosmic purpose," but this is so because of the notion that "a perfectly good state of things" is conceivable, "for then the cosmic purpose is asked why He has not instituted such a state." However, the author argues, mere good without evil is not genuinely conceivable. Again I must quote:

> Good is not a quality of the final end or state alone, but finds its meaning and existence only in a process of improvement. It is the dynamic feeling of releasing from strains and of approaching envisaged solutions. The dissatisfactions which are escaped are as vital to its meaning and existence as the ends sought, for the latter depend on the former for their urgency and importance and even to be felt at all.

The foregoing presents, perhaps, the main point of the book. However, the details are often extraordinarily well done and add substantially to the outline conception which the reader may begin to grasp from the above quotations. Also, the solution of the broad problem of evil is the primary objective only of the first half of the work; the second half tries to show, in addition, how the concrete features of the world, its various levels and types of organization, can be imagined to serve and express cosmic purpose. All students of the philosophy of religion will want to read this book for the suggestiveness of these fine discussions.

The basic technical device is to contrast "static" with "dynamic," and "atomistic" with "organic," ideas of good and of knowledge. Since good is nothing which simply is, but rather something which happens, and happens in organic relation to the disorder which it overcomes, or the evils which it vanquishes, or the dangers which it thwarts, it is bad logic to abstract the good from these essential conditions and ask why it does not exist without them. Again, concerning the question how we can know cosmic purpose or know God, it is to be stressed that knowledge is not something wholly independent of its psychic condi-

tions in emotion and in intuition of wholes; and least of all can it have this independence where what we seek to know is the organic wholeness or meaningfulness of existence, the divine. Some pertinent applications of this to education are set forth.

The philosopher primarily appealed to is Whitehead. The influence of Dewey may also have been considerable, and there are some good discussions of his philosophy. Apt use is made of Krutch's writings as testimony to the "profanation" or value-destroying secularization from which the author thinks we need to be saved. But the book is never a mere echo or patchwork of echoes; the writer goes his own way pursuing his own vision of the sacredness of concrete reality, a vision a little like that of Zen Buddhism, in spite of the lack of explicit theism in the latter. But it is articulated through the modern scientific conceptions of nature, though in comparatively untechnical aspects.

The theory of good and evil basic to this book is, of course, not without precedent. Royce, for instance, argued, just as does Dr. Van Nuys, that there is no abstracting the good from the process of triumphing over evil, thwarting danger, and so on. (See especially Royce's essay on "The Problem of Job," in *Studies of Good and Evil.*) But what about the paradox which his contemporaries and immediate successors nearly all saw in the Roycean view (not so different in this one respect from that of Leibnitz in the *Théodicée*)? If evil is essential to good, then the occurrence of evil is, it seems, a good and not an evil, and then why may we not, if we wish, legitimately perform acts that, by normal standards, produce more evil than good, since the evil is just what the ultimate cosmic good needs in order to realize itself? Royce, like Leibnitz, can only reply that the evil-doer, although in fact he serves the divine purpose, does not intend to, whereas the good man intends his service as well as performs it. This is, however, a trivial or irrelevant distinction, since the not-intending, if evil, must on the theory contribute to the good no less surely than the intending. Does our author avoid this paradox? He certainly is not guilty of it in the same simple and unequivocal way as were the thinkers just mentioned. For he does not hold that the exact details of the world are explicitly designed by cosmic purpose, nor (I should regard this as the same issue from another angle) that time is a complete whole of events contained once and for all in an eternal now. Here he apparently agrees with Bergson, James, Whitehead, and many of the rest of us, that temporal process is real and

ultimate, and that it involves contingency, creative novelty, and real uncertainty as to details. (See especially pp. 122f.)

I wonder, nevertheless, if the author is sufficiently on guard against the intolerable paradox: The good requires the evil, therefore that evil occurs is good; nevertheless that it occurs is evil—at least, we must in practice act as if it were so, since we must try to avoid causing it to occur. The author's emphasis throughout is not on the element of undesigned contingency which alone can prevent his view from entanglement with this Roycean paradox—which in my opinion would suffice to condemn it—but rather on the aspect of design, divine control. He even uses the, to me, shocking word "contrivance" concerning this living world of free self-acting agents, each fighting its own battle more or less in conflict with the others. Personally, I prefer the opposite emphasis, as in Whitehead and Berdyaev, upon these principles: the freedom or partial self-creativity of every creature; the mutual incompatibility of various possible values (the essential tragedy being the conflict of good with good, not of good with evil); the result, as the becoming of a vast variety of free acts proceeds on its partially uncharted way, being a certain amount of conflict, disorder, and evil, but the process being "justified," in the sense that only such a partially free and uncharted becoming could produce either good or evil. Now perhaps it is difficult to combine with this view the reverent wonder, the passing of which the author laments. I believe, nevertheless, that all the value of this kind not based on illusion *can* be kept on the Whitehead-Berdyaev basis. And, in any case, wonder and reverence are not the only religious values. Some of us are more inspired by aspects of religious value which, if not denied, are at least jeopardized by the author's language—the sense of divine adventure and loving participation in the tragic glory inherent in that multiple freedom which is reality itself.

In one phase of his argument, Dr. Van Nuys is in danger of falling into unintelligibility. He says that good logically precedes process and creates it. At least, there is a possible ambiguity here. Any particular process can express an antecedent purpose, and the purpose would, indeed, logically precede, be presupposed by, the process. But does anything logically precede process as such? This would be to affirm the old doctrine that being as such is prior to becoming as such. Is not process the ultimate principle of reality, from which mere being, or any purpose not itself a process, is merely an abstracted aspect? I take

this to be what Laird, whom the author on this point opposes, wishes to say. On the whole the author seems to me to belong on Laird's side, with his dynamic conception of the good. Should he not say that apart from process there would be just nothing, and that God had no option between process and not process, indeed, that God himself is actual only in process? Now one can, to be sure, say that process-with-a-purpose logically precedes *bare* process, in the sense that the latter is an incomplete concept. One should not ask, why is there process, for there could not possibly not be process, since "be" (and any word at all) refers to process. Nor could there be process without dynamic good. These are correlative notions. One may, however, ask what is involved in this, that the units of process do not cancel each other out, nullify each other completely through "the cross currents of incompatibility" (Whitehead's phrase). And one may answer, because all are inspired by God's ideal for this present phase of the cosmic life, an ideal which is constantly readjusted to fit the latest outcome of creaturely freedom. This divine inspiration sets limits to the dangers of discord, limits which are optimal in that the risks inherent in freedom are as well compensated as they would be with any other limits by the opportunities for good. God is not adjusting goods and evils, but risks and opportunities. And he is not doing it for all time, but for *this* time. The essential freedom of process, or of reality, admits of providence only in this sense. The process is "sacred" in two senses: it is optimally and divinely inspired; it forms the objective content of the divine life itself, so that its tragedies are not just our petty misery, but are factors in the divine tragedy, the actuality of Sacrificial Love itself. Is this a profane or trivial idea? A good dose of Berdyaev should cure this notion where it exists.

How much does this view differ from that expressed in the book? Perhaps not so very much. On both views, good is dynamic, found in process, not in a mere end state. Also, good is always in some relation to evil, because, as I should hold (and here divergence, at least of emphasis, seems to emerge) process is never untinctured with the incompatibilities which freedom cannot entirely be prevented by divine guidance from introducing, but which are not specifically intended by that guidance. Since all the conditions of a thing contribute to that thing, no doubt every evil makes some contribution to the good—without that evil, not that good. Still, some other, perhaps better, good would have been possible. "But only," the author would perhaps reply, "given

some other evil." Yes, some other evil would have been involved. Yet, since evil flows inevitably from freedom, there seems no need for anyone, even God, to design it. There will always be some evil or other, and naturally the good will get what it can from the evils it finds, as from all the elements in the situation. The author may still object that on the above doctrine really neither goods nor evils are designed, but only risks and opportunities, and that, in any sense in which goods are designed, so are evils. There is a puzzling task of logical analysis here, which I leave at this point, as a recognition that the author's problem is genuine and difficult.

On balance, the book seems to me excellent. It champions to the uttermost, and with intelligence, one great aspect of religious value, reverence for the divine purposiveness of reality. It therefore deserves attention.

CHARLES HARTSHORNE

University of Chicago

A REPLY TO DR. WALLIS

In the interests of historical fact, may I be allowed some corrective comments on Dr. Wallis' review of my book in your March issue. First, I have never minimized gentile higher criticism; on the contrary, my research is based on the methods and achievements of gentile scholars (see page 11 of my book). The lines which Dr. Wallis quoted from page 5 are Kaplan's words, not mine. I appreciate the thoroughgoing and illuminating research of the German scholars from Wellhausen to Alt and Noth, and have also studied the English and American scholars from Driver and Skinner to Pfeiffer, Rowley, Simpson, and Wallis. Second, Dr. Wallis states that my theory about Nathan will "undoubtedly" go the way of Jerachmeel. Why undoubtedly? If he is so sure, why does he not give one concrete objection to it? In his paper at the meeting of SBLE (December, 1950), Professor G. E. Wright states that an increasing number of scholars favor a Davidic or Solomonic date for the Yahwist. That is the time of Nathan. I am afraid that Dr. Wallis' prophecy will not prove to be as good as that of the old prophet Nathan.

IMMANUEL LEWY

New York City

BOOK NOTES

The Splendour That Was Egypt. By MARGARET A. MURRAY. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. 354 pp. $10.00.

This book hearkens back to the heroic age, Egyptology's pioneering age of a half-century ago, when every scholar was charting for himself paths into the unknown and could heap discovery upon discovery without having to pay very much attention to what his colleagues were doing. A giant of that age was Sir Flinders Petrie, to whom Miss Murray, his lifelong disciple, has dedicated her book, and to whose outstanding contributions to Egyptology she has devoted a chapter.

Conditions have changed greatly since those days. Egyptology is now a mature science in which progress is slow, source material immense, and no scholar can afford to ignore the work of others. Miss Murray, however, does not recognize this change. Her survey of Pharaonic civilization is both out-of-date and subjective. It is vitiated by outmoded notions, serious omissions, and dubious theories presented in an uncritical fashion. For example, Petrie's system of Egyptian chronology, long since superseded, forms the basis of her historical outline, and in the chapter on Egyptian religion we encounter the discredited theory of the sacrificial slaying of the pharaoh. Even less justified is the assertion, made in the same chapter, that the Egyptians believed in reincarnation. Herodotus' statement to that effect is quoted and is alleged to be borne out by Egyptian evidence. This purported evidence consists of the well-known funerary spells in which the dead wish to assume various shapes *in the hereafter*. Reincarnation, however, means a cycle of reimpersonations *in life on earth,* and of this belief there is no trace in Ancient Egypt.

The author has also failed to provide an adequate critical apparatus in which the sources from which she draws, primary and secondary, are identified. Rather than dwelling at length on its many weak points, suffice it to say that the book's basic shortcomings are the result of Miss Murray's almost complete disregard of the work done by scholars other than Petrie and herself.

The book is aimed at the general public. But while popular books on Ancient Egypt written by scholars are always welcome, if only as an antidote to the sensational and distorting fiction-writing with which we have recently been plagued, this one is hardly adequate. The book has the merit of being lavishly illustrated by many well-chosen fine photographs.

MIRIAM LICHTHEIM

A History of Greek Religion. By MARTIN PERSSON NILSSON. 2nd ed. Translated by F. J. FIELDEN. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1949. 316 pp. $3.00.

This second edition of the English translation of M. P. Nilsson's famous work is published just a quarter of a century after the first edition. The first edition

had a preface by Sir James Frazer, which has now been replaced by one by the author, in which he mentions the most important works on Greek religion published since the first edition, and defends his fundamental views against some critics. The preface also states that "the stresses of the time have prevented any major alteration of the text from the first edition." In fact I have not found any alteration of the text whatever, except, perhaps, that some expressions have slightly changed their meaning, as for instance, "quite recently published" (p. 61), which, in 1924, meant half a year ago and now has come to mean a quarter of a century ago. There are, at the end, five pages with notes, additions, and corrections. But by far the greater part of these not very extensive notes are devoted to confirmatory evidence. There are very few corrections, and all of them concerning points of minor importance.

This is most remarkable in a work that starts with the pre-Greek Minoan-Mycenean religion, ends with the survivals of ancient Greek religion in modern Greece, and covers so widely differing aspects as the primitive elements in Greek religion, the religion of the peasants and of the cultured classes, the mysteries, the state cult and civic religion, the Orphics, etc. Yet nobody can say that the knowledge of Greek religion has remained stagnant since the year when the first edition was published. Many voluminous works have been published since, and the author himself has contributed a great many books and articles on the subject, culminating in his monumental work *Die Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Vol. I, 1941; Vol. II, 1950). That, in spite of all this, the author felt justified in republishing the book in practically exactly the same form in which it had first appeared, is unquestionably due to certain qualities of the first edition which induced one of its reviewers to call it the most reasonable book on Greek religion. The most outstanding of these qualities is the extreme caution and circumspection with which Professor Nilsson has collected and assembled his factual evidence. Hence, there were unusually few factual errors to be corrected. The second quality is the sobriety of his interpretations. There are inevitably a good many conjectures concerning the meaning of certain individual archeological objects or of certain rites and practices, but though these conjectures, by their very nature, cannot be proved to be certainly correct, they are of such a kind that it is very difficult to prove them wrong.

The third reason why the author found hardly anything to change is that his fundamental concept of Greek religion, and of religion in general, has not changed. Most characteristic of this concept is the author's contention (p. 118) that "divine personalities cannot be taken as unities but must be split into their different component parts" if their nature is to be fully understood. But some of the most outstanding scholars who have written on Greek religion since the publication of the first edition have held the very opposite opinion: that it is impossible to understand the religious meaning of a divine personality without grasping the unity in its or his seemingly disconnected or even contradictory functions and qualities. It is characteristic of the firmness of Nilsson's

convictions in this respect that, in his survey of more recent work on Greek religion, he does not even mention W. F. Otto or A. M. J. Festugière. According to one's own fundamental beliefs in this respect, one may consider this contempt for a different kind of interpretation either as a severe limitation or as the greatest merit of the work under review.

KURT VON FRITZ

Islam in the Sudan. By J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM. London: Oxford University Press, 1949. x, 280 pp. with a folding map. $5.00.

A primary need in Islamic studies at the present time is that of accurate and detailed studies of the present state of Islam in the various areas of the widely scattered *Dār al-Islām*. For the Islamic world of the nineteenth century we have a goodly number of such descriptions, but local conditions have changed enormously in many areas of Asia and Africa, even in the last ten years, and it is of no little importance to know what the effect of the pressures of modern life has been on the Muslim communities in these areas.

Mr. Trimingham, who was introduced to Islamic studies by the late Professor D. S. Margoliouth of Oxford, has been for some years a missionary of the Church of England stationed at Omdurman in the northern Sudan, and has already produced a useful little handbook for the Sudanese type of colloquial Arabic, and a missionary study on the Christian approach to Islam in the Sudan. The present book is a much more ambitious undertaking which, though in historical matters it leans rather heavily on McMichael's two volumes on the Arabs in the Sudan, breaks new ground in its description of the actual life of the Muslim communities as he has been able to observe them at close range.

Sudan in this book means only the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and since Islam has not penetrated to any great extent among the pagan tribes of the south, it deals mainly with the northern Sudan. Even in that area, however, there is a great variety of peoples, dialects, and cultures, with only a superficial uniformity provided by the use of Arabic and a nominal profession of the religion of Islam. Its main cultural contacts have always been with Egypt. That was true in Pharaonic days, and it is interesting to see the evidence here that its chief intellectual stimulation still comes up the Nile from Egypt.

The book opens with a necessary description of the land and its varied peoples, for few people who have not actually been in the country can form any idea of the great variety of peoples and cultures exhibited by the Sudan. This leads to an account of what is known of the early history of the country, the story of its Christianization in the sixth century, the decay of its Christianity, the coming of the Arabs and the gradual Islamization of the whole country. This is fairly well known material. There is a brief chapter on the history of the Sudan under Muslim rule right up to the present Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. Young Egyptian nationalists who clamor so loudly for the right of Egypt

to govern the Sudan might well ponder the record in this chapter of what Egyptian rule has meant to the Sudan. The main body of the work commences in chapter four with an account of the organization of orthodox Islam in the country, and then deals, in chapter five, with the beliefs and practices of popular Islam, and, in chapter six, with the organization, distribution and rites of the religious orders, i.e., the Dervish fraternities associated with the Ṣūfī system. Both these chapters bring in a good deal of new and valuable information. Two final chapters discuss the present Muslim propaganda among the pagan tribes, and the effects of Western influence on the country since the British Occupation.

No one who has ever been in the country can fail to have been impressed by the enormous influence of the Dervish orders, and here for the first time we have an adequate account of the distribution, relative importance, interrelations, etc., of the various fraternities active in the Sudan, and some insight into their real status in the life of the people. For the rest the author makes very clear that Islam in the Sudan is mostly a veneer, the real religion of the people being their primitive African animism, which now expresses itself in Islamic forms.

No praise could be too great for the meticulous care with which the book has been produced by the Oxford University Press.

A.J.

The Book of Human Destiny. Vol. II: *In the Beginning.* By Solomon Goldman. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. xiv, 892 pp. $5.00.

This work, dealing with the Book of Genesis, is the second in a contemplated series of thirteen volumes, and having reviewed the first volume for the May 1950 issue of the *Review of Religion,* I must confess to a sense of weariness as I now undertake to comment on Dr. Goldman's second volume. The things that were wrong with the first volume are also wrong with the second. It is propaganda for a special brand of Judaism rather than a detached historical account. For example, Dr. Goldman says (p. 7) that Esau "became a *cunning* hunter, while Jacob was a *simple* man, a shepherd" (italics are mine). Then, too, it seems to me that Dr. Goldman draws much too sharp a distinction between the pagan myths of creation and the Genesis account, implying that the first were crude, simple, almost stupid, whereas Genesis was practically a miracle of insight and sophistication.

Six hundred pages of the present volume are given over to a hodgepodge collection of quotations bearing on Genesis. Some are good, others are pretty feeble; and although Dr. Goldman does give an index of authors quoted, he does not give page references to where these quotations may be found in the present volume, so that it is not even a convenient or really useful reference book.

Henry G. Russell

The Prophetic Faith. By MARTIN BUBER. Translated from the Hebrew by CARLYLE WITTON-DAVIES. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. 247 pp. $3.75.

Professor Buber has set himself to the task of determining the origin of Israel's faith, which he sees crystallized in the acknowledgment of "Yahweh, God of Israel." Beginning with the expression of this basic faith in the Song of Deborah, he traces the kernel backward through the account of the Shechem assembly under Joshua, through the experience of the people at Sinai, where he finds the beginning of the covenant between God and Israel. But the faith did not originate with Moses; it can be traced back to the patriarchs, in whom there appears the same article of faith. In this distant past we have, in the patriarchs, lives which should not be called "unhistorical but may be called prehistorical in the exact sense of the word" (p. 31). At last the author finds "the hour of the revelation to Abraham" in the kernel of Genesis 15, particularly verse 7. For Abraham the deity, who was later to be proclaimed by the name of Yahweh, was known by the elemental sound "He!" It was this same god who led his believers on the long way which led eventually to Sinai. In his brief sketch of 42 pages, Buber could not possibly do justice to the many views which have been expressed by competent scholars on such subjects as the origin of Israel's faith, the origin of the divine name Yahweh, the nature of the covenant, and many other subjects. He has presented his own views and given an occasional reference to the opinions which run counter to his own. One misses particularly reference to the more recent discussions of American scholars, especially those of Meek, Albright, Morgenstern, and others.

After the author has determined what he believes to be the origin and nature of the original revelation of Yahweh to Israel, he proceeds to trace the development of this idea through the various situations which confronted Israel's prophets and teachers. These later figures were responsible for applying the revelation which they had received from those who went before. In this section of the book Buber has given some interesting expositions of the more important passages of the Old Testament. The presentation is along the broad lines of theology and, at times, is homiletical. In his interpretation of the text the author is usually to be found in the camp of the traditionalists rather than with the more radical critics. For example, he retains the saying about salvation at the end of the book of Amos as genuine, rather than attributing it, as most critics do, to the post-exilic period. In his discussion of the ark, he argues for the unique quality of this symbol of Israel's faith, and asserts that "it can hardly be maintained that the ark is borrowed from anywhere" (p. 48). In this book, which requires rather close concentration to read, there are frequent insights which the careful reader will find of interest. The book is a product of a lifetime of deep thought about the great issues of Israel's faith. Those who have followed the works of this distinguished Jewish theologian and mystic will welcome this latest addition to his writings.

JAMES B. PRITCHARD

Zohar: The Book of Splendor. Selected and edited by GERSHOM G. SCHOLEM. New York: Schocken Books, 1949. 125 pp. $1.50.

There is an expensive English translation in five volumes of major sections of the *Zohar,* the chief repository of Kabbalistic speculation, published by the Soncino Press in London. Some of the sections excluded from this fine translation appear in more or less garbled form in the retranslation (from the Latin) by McGregor Mathers of Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata,* but Mathers' volume is out-of-print and hard to come by. The selections included by Gershom Scholem in this well printed Schocken Library book are, then, the only ready way for one who would read in the *Zohar* to find available material. But these selections are so good that they whet the appetite, thus pointing to the need for a volume larger than this, as well selected as this, and occupying something less than five volumes.

It is a pity that Ralph Marcus, who translated the editor's introduction into a smooth and sparkling English prose, did not work with Professor Scholem on the translation of the selections, which are merely adequate, never brilliant. This sort of inconsistency has been a consistent flaw in the Schocken publication program in this country.

J.L.B.

Jesus in the Jewish Tradition. By MORRIS GOLDSTEIN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. ix, 319 pp. $4.00.

The title of this painstaking and valuable book largely explains its content, although in tracing Jewish attitudes through the years, Dr. Goldstein supplements views of the historical Jesus with reflections upon related Christian beliefs like original sin and the trinity. This broader approach holds especially, as we might expect, for the Middle Ages. The author, a Liberal rabbi, deals successively with the Tannaitic (first two Christian centuries), Amoraic (next three centuries), and Post-Talmudic Periods, down to the eighteenth century. A companion volume will discuss modern times.

Goldstein distinguishes between authentic and inauthentic references to Jesus and Christianity, pointing out that Christians have often insinuated Jewish allusions to Jesus—especially adverse ones—where they do not actually exist. However, Goldstein does not play down Jewish refusal to admit the Incarnation. Much Jewish reaction has been prompted by Christian interference (e.g., production of the Toledoth Yeshu legend). Left to themselves the Jews have followed a "live and let live" philosophy vis-à-vis people of other faiths. And yet there is unanimity on the Oneness of God and a preponderant denial of Jesus' divinity. Goldstein is in the company of those who, through the centuries, have courageously, but with grace and scholarship, defended their faith, even amidst great danger.

This volume is not, however, primarily polemical or even apologetic writing. It is largely description. The author has taken upon himself a prodigious and

pioneering task, and the result is a masterful work of summation, with due attention to original sources and to the correction of previous errors in translation. He rightly believes that it is terribly important to get the facts straight, but I fear he underestimates the perversity which has issued in deliberate alteration and destruction of the historical record. To give just one example, the result of the Paris Disputation of 1240 was, as Goldstein admits, that the church tribunal "paid no attention to the logic brought out in the debate" and burned many carloads of the Talmud, in spite of having been proved wrong. But the author concludes his study by alluding to a "more enlightened spirit in the civilization of modernity." How Statements like this last can be made by Jews in the very century when over one-third their number have been slaughtered perplexes the Christian imagination. In other words, the interpretation of human sinfulness remains a chief difference between Judaism and Christianity.

A. Roy Eckardt

Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century. By Emile Male. New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1949. 208 pp. 48 plates. $4.50.

It is our great good fortune that M. Mâle has here, in a form available to everyone, summarized the material originally published in four folio volumes, selecting with unerring discretion the salient aspects of the subject of which he is so great a master. We marvel that, in these scant 200 pages, the writer has been able to preserve that fragrance of bygone times and thoughts which enchanted readers of the original work.

The remote origins of Christian art, the hewing of resistent stone to embody mystical conceptions of an indwelling divinity, "high and lifted up"; the refashioning of art in response to the intimacy of Franciscan meditations; the darkening of the horizon by recurrent plagues, changing the emphasis from tenderness to terror of that "hand of Death that seizes all"; the revulsion consequent upon the Counter Reformation—all this forms a connected narrative of the development in visual speech which brought into one coherent whole the worship and thought of Christendom.

This little book will, undoubtedly, send the reader unfamiliar with the volumes here epitomized to the original works enriched with a store of illustrative material which, of necessity, is here reduced to forty-eight plates, but plates excellent in quality.

Edith R. Abbot

Tudor Parish Documents of the Diocese of York. A Selection, with Introduction and Notes by J. S. Purvis. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. xii, 243 pp. $4.50.

The Archbishop of York, in an admirable Foreword to this book, refers to its contents as "a mass of material which can be used to build up a picture of pa-

rochial life in the anxious days of Queen Elizabeth." Mr. Purvis, archivist of the Diocese of York, presents here a body of hitherto neglected records of visitations and church court proceedings by which we may obtain a vivid realization of aspects of church life too often handled with inexpert generalizations. The word "diocese" in the title obscures the fact that much of the material is from areas of the province of York beyond the diocese. In their nature these documents are mainly concerned with the misdeeds of the disorderly class of laymen and clergy, and cannot be regarded as presenting a balanced impression of parish life. On the other hand, they furnish abundant proof of the fact that bishops and others in authority gave great attention to the discipline of the local clergy and people. The purposes of this discipline were mainly two: the suppression of medieval ceremonies and popular superstitions, and the instruction of the people and correction of their moral behavior.

The problems faced by reforming bishops early in Elizabeth's reign are well suggested by the following entry in a visitation document of 1567:

> C. Nich. Jackson vicarium de Mapleton No sermons is maid the paraphraseis is torne and defaced the Registre boke is unperfectlle kept he did leave his Cure and roume awaye for the space of two yeres And he is a giver of vell example of lieffe to others a quareler a dronkerd and a player at tables . . . [He denied and was order to make compurgation] (p. 33).

Documents of 1596 show many similar charges, together with a good many instances of recusancy and non-attendance at communion. Common offenses throughout are adultery, separation of partners in marriage, fornication, drunkenness, and witchcraft. The ringing of church bells for occasions that in the Reformation were no longer celebrated, was frequently penalized. Churches were often scenes of disorder. In 1597 two boys abused another in church by "twitchinge of him and thrustinge pinnes into his armes and buttocks," and one of them struck him a "blowe upon his head, eare, or face" (p. 89). In 1590 three men who were bowling "on the Sabbothe day in time of prayer" beat a church warden who had remonstrated with them (p. 187), and in that year we are notified that Jas. Sykes "hangs wrytinges in horse maines to cure diseasies" (p. 199).

Corresponding documents for the Church of Scotland have been made familiar, but we have had hitherto no such intimate records of discipline in Tudor England. The editor proposes to continue publication of similar materials from the "vast accumulation" of the York archives. He has here provided a body of revealing information, and the promised additions to it will be welcomed. There is a good index.

J.T.M.

Stockholms kyrkostyrelse intill 1630-talets mitt (Government of Stockholm Churches until 1635). By Robert Murray. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlog, 1949. xxiii, 276 pp. Kr. 10.

This work is the twentieth in a series of *Samlingar och studier* (Collections and Studies) in Swedish church history. It traces the development of church

government and administration from the beginning of Stockholm in the thirteenth century until the middle of the seventeenth century, not stopping with 1635 as the title would indicate. Stockholm occupied a unique position, and its churches were never administered exactly like those of any other place. Swedish and German parallels to its government are noted.

The first chapter deals with the medieval or Catholic period; the second, with the Reformation period before the Assembly of Uppsala in 1593. The main part of the work concerns the period from 1593 to about 1650. By this time a *Konsistorium,* consisting of the more important clergymen, had developed which had a great deal to do with the administration, the enforcement of church discipline against heretics and moral delinquents, etc. Civil authorities continued to allow the Church to exercise jurisdiction over such matters as marriage and divorce after the Reformation.

There were a number of overlapping authorities, the boundaries between which were never well defined. The king sometimes interfered personally. From the beginning the burghers of Stockholm exercised considerable power and influence, especially through the mayor and council. The leading church, the present Great Church, played an important role, and its head became the *Pastor primarius* of the city. Stockholm and its environment recognized the superior authority of the archbishop and chapter in Uppsala but, at the same time, almost constituted itself a diocese within the diocese.

This volume is the work of a scholar and written for serious students. At least one third of the work consists of footnotes. There is a table of contents, a person index, and a very compressed summary in German. The general reader may feel lost in the details and befuddled by technical terms and quotations in Latin and old linguistic forms. The account proceeds in a detached matter of fact fashion, and there is no attempt to arouse interest by stressing the dramatic side of the story.

CONRAD PETERSON

William Law: A Study in Literary Craftsmanship. By HENRI TALON. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. vii, 106 pp. $2.00.

This appreciative estimate offers in one hundred pages a fine summary of William Law's thinking, and several illuminating comments upon his style. The essay—for that is what the author properly calls his work—should serve as an excellent introduction for those not yet acquainted with its subject, and affords pleasant and profitable reading for anyone interested in the writer who pierced the religious indifference of the eighteenth century.

William Law (1686-1761) entered but little into the life of his time. After his ordination, he continued for a few years as Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Then, following a period when he may have served as curate in a London church, he became tutor to Edward Gibbon, father of the famous historian. His last twenty years were passed in retirement at King's Cliffe, Northamptonshire. His uneventful life contrasts sharply with the stirring effect

his books had upon his age. His *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* was probably the most influential religious work of the eighteenth century. Although Law himself was not an Evangelical, this book helped to fire the faith of most of the leaders of the revival, including John Wesley, Whitefield, Henry Venn, Thomas Scott, and John Newton. Many, like Samuel Johnson, testified that reading *A Serious Call* marked a turning point in their lives.

After a brief sketch of Law's life, Talon concentrates on his thinking and literary craftsmanship. In his earlier writings Law reveals a sharp wit, a respect for logic, and a keen sense of satire. During the middle years, to which *A Serious Call* and *A Practical Treatise on Christian Perfection* belong, he tried to persuade men who were already Christians to lead devout, almost ascetic, lives. Although he influenced many, the author feels that, in this period, Law relied too much on reason and logic to make his appeal to fallible humanity. There had always been a mystical streak in Law, however, and after he came under the influence of Jacob Boehme his mysticism became more apparent and his literary style more poetic. In his later period, according to Talon, his style is more rhythmical, richer in metaphor, and less ironical. Law himself referred to his later writing as "the style of love," an appropriate term for his new manner of expressing his more intense mysticism and love of God.

MAURICE J. QUINLAN

The Wisdom of John Woolman. By REGINALD REYNOLDS. London: Allen and Unwin, 1948; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. 178 pp. $3.00.

During the three centuries of its history the Society of Friends has produced no one who has more fully exemplified its principles than John Woolman, the New Jersey tailor of the eighteenth century. Even George Fox, the founder, was not so completely the ideal Friend. In addition, Woolman was an able writer. His works exhibit a beauty and clarity of style in keeping with the beauty and clarity of his character. In this book, Reginald Reynolds gives a clear, adequate, and thought-provoking account of Woolman's philosophy of life and the sources of its inspiration. More than half the book is commentary; the remainder consists of selections from Woolman's writings, topically arranged. This arrangement has been difficult to achieve in dealing with the work of a mind so universal and so lacking in departmentalization. The commentary frequently relates Woolman's principles and methods to present day problems. A preface by Stephen Hobhouse points out that Woolman was a striking embodiment of "soul force," defined by Gandhi as "a faith in the conquering power of love and truth." To Whittier's classic introduction to Woolman's Journal, Amelia Mott Gummere's scholarly volume on his life and works, and Janet Whitney's vivid biography, this work forms a welcome appendix which adds to our understanding of the Quaker saint.

John Woolman combined in a remarkable way the inwardness of the mystic and the outwardness of the social reformer, an achievement characteristic of the Quakerism of his period. As a mystic, he cultivated an extraordinary sensi-

tivity to what he called "Pure Wisdom," his phrase for the "Inward Light," pure, that is, when not contaminated by any thought of self or the demands of society. As a reformer his primary concerns were with wealth, war, and slavery. To wealthy Quakers he pointed out the intimate connection between wealth and war, showing that the peace testimony could not be divorced from daily living. He foretold the evils of the mechanistic age and the decline of soil fertility. In his endeavor to abolish slavery his method was different from that of such aggressive abolitionists as William Lloyd Garrison. His direct, simple, friendly approach to slave holders on the personal level usually succeeded. A life so obviously humble and so completely consistent could not but be honored by opponents. It was the evil effect of slavery on the slave holders which formed the basis of his appeal. They could see that he spoke in complete selflessness and in love. He visited the Indians, "if haply I might receive some instruction from them"—the complete antithesis of the usual missionary attitude. Had there been enough Woolmans at work, the Indian wars and the Civil War, with all their disastrous consequences, would have been prevented. *The Wisdom of John Woolman* so clearly portrayed in this book was never more needed than now.

HOWARD H. BRINTON

An Orthodox-Protestant Debate. By APOSTOLOS MAKRAKIS. Chicago: Orthodox Christian Educational Society, 1949. 74 + 12 pp.

The Two Contrariat Schools and Concerning the Establishment of a Christian University. By APOSTOLOS MAKRAKIS. Chicago: Orthodox Christian Educational Society, 1949. 88 pp.

Papal Primacy and the Innovations of the Roman Catholic Church as Discussed in the Reply of the Great Church in Constantinople to Encyclical Issued by Pope Leo XIII in 1894 concerning Union of the Churches. Including Important Ecclesiastical Canons and Explanations by A. Makrakis. Chicago: Orthodox Christian Educational Society, 1948. 63 pp. $1.00.

These three small works are a continuation of the translations of the writings of Apostolos Makrakis, a distinguished priest and teacher of the Greek Church during the nineteenth century. They reveal his knowledge of Orthodox teachings, and are strongly polemical against all those with whom he differed, including many of the leaders of his own Church. They also reveal the positions and problems of the Greek Church as it emerged from a century of domination by the Ottoman Empire. The second book is a severe criticism of the University of Athens, which reflects the author's consciousness that some way must be found to introduce Christian values into the educational system, and to produce men aware of their social and religious obligations. Despite the form of the author's views, we can see how close they are to some of our present-day progressive ideas in the West, and how they may be of value to those who are planning to develop the idea of university service to society.

C.A.M.

Οἰκονομία ἐν τῇ Ὀρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησία. By Hamilcar Alivisatos. Athens: Aster Press, 1949. 112 pp.

This book represents the first noteworthy endeavor to expound in a systematic form the historical principle and practice of Economy in the Orthodox and Greek Church. Its value can hardly be overestimated in view of the serious lack that Orthodox theology has had of a careful definition of Economy, which is so characteristic of the spirit and life of the Orthodox Church. It is a book that many have long been waiting for.

Professor Alivisatos follows a careful plan in his treatise. He begins by defining Economy and then enters into the history of it, treating of specific cases where Economy can be applied.

Economy is the practice of relaxing the strictness of dogma and discipline for the sake of the supreme welfare of the individual soul, viz., which is outside the Church and seeking admission. Though the Orthodox Church holds that the covenanted grace of the Holy Spirit operates only within the Church and hence sacraments outside are essentially invalid, she will, in certain cases, by the application of Economy, accept as valid such sacraments administered by non-Orthodox ministers. The spiritual interest of the individual involved is the determining factor. The principle of employing Economy is sometimes called the Basilian rule, since St. Basil the Great among the Fathers and Doctors of the Early Church most emphatically prescribed it. In his letter to Amphilochius he writes:

> Those who had broken away from the Church no longer had in them the grace of the Holy Spirit. Those who had been baptized by them (schismatics), are as being baptized by laymen, and should come to the Church and be purified by the true baptism of the Church, but since on the whole it has seemed best to some that, for the *economy* of the majority, their baptism be accepted let it be accepted.

To be sure, the practice of Economy cannot be grounded dogmatically nor formulated and interpreted in terms of dogma. It is, therefore, most proper that the Professor of Canon Law of the University of Athens should undertake to perform the task of presenting an exposition of Economy, inasmuch as it can be explained only canonically. Professor Alivisatos says that we cannot say what dogmatically occurs upon the acceptance of an invalidly performed sacrament as valid by the Orthodox Church. It cannot be explained by means of the more logical Augustinian principle on the validity of sacraments. The Orthodox Church will not accept it as consistent with the dogma of the one saving Church and holds firmly to the idea that the practice of Economy was the policy in the life of the Early Church and not the Augustinian rule, which was an isolated view.

If one tries to understand Economy in the static terms of Western thought, such as "compromise" and "consistency," he will altogether miss the point. Here is a book that will supply the need of the student of Orthodox Eastern theology to grasp the meaning and importance of Economy, so characteristic of the practice and spirit of the Greek Church. Undoubtedly, it is a noteworthy

contribution to modern Orthodox theological scholarship, and deserves the attention of all those who would acquaint themselves with Eastern Christian thought.

AGAMEMNON A. STEPHANOU

The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism. By DMITRI OBOLENSKY. Cambridge: the University Press, 1949, xiv, 317 pp. $6.50.

This is an excellent study of Bogomilism, but it is even more than its title implies, for it is also a history of the contacts of the Bogomils with the other dualistic sects in Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire, especially the Paulicians and the Massalians. It is also valuable because the author makes a conscientious effort to avoid the two prejudices which have marred many previous studies: the Slav, and especially the Bulgarian, desire to glorify the Bogomils as a national political reaction against Greek Byzantium and its outlook on life; and the Protestant tendency to accept and excuse as sincere and noble people all groups which rebelled against the medieval religious order, whether in East or West.

The author admits both the national character of Bogomilism and the moral weakness of the Church, but he retains his balance throughout and pictures these elements against the tangled religious and political situation in Bulgaria at the time of its Christianization. He brings out the often forgotten fact that there were, in Bulgarian territory, islands of the pre-Slav Christians, and that the Slavs and the Turkic Bulgars were scarcely fused at the moment when Christianity was accepted by Boris, while, at the same time, the new state was influenced by the colonies of Paulicians and Armenians who had been settled along its borders by the various Byzantine Emperors. He might have supported this position further by pointing out the similarity between the monument of Krum at Madara, which approximates both the early monuments of the Thracian Rider and the Sassanid monuments of Iran. There is still much to be done in orienting Bulgarian culture and its early relationship with all the religions of the Near East, and the efforts of the author to view the Bulgarian state and religion against the entire background are more than laudable.

The author's acceptance of the idea that Bogomilism was not static is very fruitful. It is part and parcel of the modern attitude which is coming to realize that, during the course of its long history, Byzantium and its neighbors passed through many cultural and political changes, even though these remained in the general Byzantine pattern. He can thus see differences between the Bogomils of the First Bulgarian Empire, the interlude when the cult appeared at Constantinople and in the themes of Asia Minor, and the movement under the Second Bulgarian Empire, when it became perhaps more political and certainly less rigid in its moral attitude through increased contact with the Massalians.

The author has barely scratched the surface in the complicated relations

between Bulgarian Bogomils and the Western Cathars, etc., and he suggests that there is still much to be done in the study of the influence of Bogomil practices and ideas in both Kiev and Moscow, as well as among the other Southern Slavs. We can, therefore, welcome the book not only for its scholarship but for its perspective, which is of great value for an appreciation of the complications of medieval Balkan and Byzantine thought and culture.

C.A.M.

World Faith. By RUTH CRANSTON. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. 193 pp. $3.00.

The subtitle of the book under review reveals the interest of the author in writing it. She calls it "A Story of the Religions of the United Nations." It seems to be an attempt to find a common basis of understanding, across religious lines, for the widely varied groups represented in the U.N. The author is quite sure that there is a definite religious undergirding for the best efforts they can make in the direction of World Unity and peace. It need scarcely be said that this is a laudable purpose, and, judged from this point of view, the book has much to be said for it. It makes no claim to be an exhaustive treatment of any one religion, nor is its approach critical in any sense. It would not serve as an adequate basis for a college textbook for a course in the history of religion, but it is a book in which the salient features of each of the great religions are presented in rather simple, straightforward fashion, quite understandable to any intelligent reader of high-school age or above. This is truly a service to the cause of international understanding and peace.

From the standpoint of the critical historian, questions could be raised at a number of points as to whether, for example, some of the attitudes set forth are really representative of the faiths as they are known to the more critical historian. But that somewhere within each of these world faiths there are to be found messages of brotherhood and goodwill is not to be doubted, and it is altogether to the good that these be pointed out, and every possible advantage be taken of the points of common belief.

The religions treated in this volume are Hinduism, the religions of China, Islam, Buddhism, Christianity, and Judaism, and a second volume is projected which will cover a number of the remaining ethnic religions and perhaps some of the more modern movements, such as Bahai, Theosophy, etc. It must be said that, in general, the author has fulfilled the purpose she had in view, and the extremely irenic treatment given to all the religions can hardly fail to make its appeal to people of whatever faith. The book ought to be very widely read and discussed. Certainly religion holds, in part, the clue to the development of a United World. If the great religions can be brought to an attitude of mutual understanding and goodwill, a long step will have been taken toward a genuine world of peace and brotherhood.

CHARLES S. BRADEN

The Emergence of a World Christian Community. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. iv, 91 pp. $2.00.

This small volume of ninety-one pages embodies the three addresses given by Dr. Latourette on the Rockwell Lectureship at the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas. In succession, the author surveys the historical background of the world Christian community, its present status, and its future promise. One is not surprised that the premier historian of the expansion of Christianity is able to range through the centuries, the continents, and the world's religions, drawing upon his mastery of trends and facts to undergird his positions.

In this, as in his other writings, the reader is rewarded with comprehensive generalizations and judgments. For example, we are told that, in the nineteenth century, Christianity, and especially Protestant Christianity, "displayed an expansion which for geographic extent was unprecedented either in its own history or that of any other religion" (p. 11). "No ideology, not even democracy or Communism, is as widely represented by organized groups" (p. 16). World relief after the last two wars has provided "a demonstration which for geographic extent and magnitude is without precedent in the history of Christianity or of any other religion" (p. 39). "During the last century and a half more languages have been reduced to writing under the impulse of Christianity than by all other factors in all the history of mankind" (p. 38). "Never has Christianity been as widely influential in the affairs of men as it is now" (p. 41), and this increase is "more and more through Protestantism" (p. 8).

Perhaps the most valuable contribution is the author's study of Christian unity. Considerable space is given in each of the three chapters to the history, the problems, and the probable future of this movement. He notes that Christians are drawing together as never before and that "we have tangible reasons for confidence, still somewhat hesitant, that a real and visible unity will be attained" (p. 68). But no one who reads the author's survey of the difficulties in the way will expect any early consummation of that high goal.

These lectures are characterized by stern realism as well as by restrained optimism, and may be highly recommended for a rapid survey of the subjects chosen.

DANIEL J. FLEMING

Power and Morals. By MARTIN J. HILLENBRAND. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. xiv, 217 pp. $3.25.

The intent of this study of power is to analyze the basic moral issues involved in the problem of political power. By his indictment of modern political thought as "to a great extent ethically bankrupt," and his contention that "political theory cannot be divorced from general philosophy," the author poses for himself a Herculean task of reconstruction.

The book really falls into two parts: an exposition of the traditional

Catholic moral philosophy, the natural law; and an analysis of two great general problems of power, the use of violence, and the relation between authority and liberty. Unfortunately, the two parts lack co-ordination. Hillenbrand largely disregards the natural law theory in his treatment of concrete problems. Adherents of the Catholic doctrine of natural law would therefore view his analyses of the two great problems of power as dangerously pragmatic and instrumentalist. His attempt at co-ordination in the concluding chapter is forced. In fact, his exposition of the natural law concept itself suffers, at certain key points, from vagueness and inadequacy, e.g., his account of the mode of cognition, especially his interpretation of St. Thomas' term, "participation" (pp. 82 f.), and his claim for the universality of ethical first principles. In addition, he fails to supplement St. Thomas' inadequate treatment of moral obligation with that of Suarez.

The great merit of the book lies in the sagacious comments the author makes upon vital issues, comments which reflect a wide acquaintance with socio-political problems gained not only from wide reading in political science, philosophy, and ethics, but also through first-hand experience as a United States Foreign Service Officer. His critical examination of what might be considered the strongest case for non-violence—the Satyagraha movement of Gandhi—is a masterpiece of sympathetic interpretation and critical evaluation, at once comprehensive and compact.

GRAHAM M. JAMIESON

The Old Testament in the Church. By JOSEPH WOODS. London: S.P.C.K., 1949. ix, 140 pp., 9*s.* 6*d.*

It is widely recognized that the present generation of church leaders and teachers has experienced a surprising revitalization of historic Christian theology. Old Testament studies, as a consequence, have become increasingly "theological" (in the literal meaning of that word). No longer is it seen *merely* as a compendium of priceless literature, or *merely* as a deposit of cultural and historical information about the past, but as the human record of "God's Word" and deed. The Church is thus recovering a vital part of her tradition which she had for some time ignored or even rejected.

When the Church is engaged in its true task of proclaiming the saving act of God in Jesus Christ, it knows the Old Testament to be an indispensable, though preparatory, part of this message, rather than a kind of "poor relation" for whom one must make embarrassed apologies. Mr. Woods, a British cleric in Nigeria, has given us a moving plea for the Church to study the story of God's revelation of Himself to Israel in the light of its fulfillment in Jesus Christ (p. 16). The God of the Old Covenant who is seen "through a glass darkly" is the same God whom we see "face to face" in the Covenant. Because of Christ we read the Old Testament with new eyes; indeed, its significance is derived from the fact that the Incarnation has placed God's seal upon it (p. 116). On this Christocentric foundation the author discusses various portions of the Old

Testament in an exceedingly provocative way, avoiding both the shortcomings of humanistic criticism and the aberrations of continental "typology."

The modest size of the book has perhaps precluded a fuller and more searching treatment of *the* problem raised by this contemporary trend in Old Testament interpretation: what is the precise relationship between the original meaning of an Old Testament passage and its subsequent significance in the light of Christ? The author agrees that critical scholarship is not irrelevant to theological interpretation, but the way in which he reflects present trends would seem to indicate that much work is yet to be done at just this point.

FREDERICK T. SCHUMACHER

A Philosophy of Life. By RICHARD N. BENDER. Philosophical Library, 1949. New York:

Professor Bender has written an able introductory textbook on philosophy from essentially a personalist and religious point of view. Apparently his book is designed to meet the needs of young people of the college age. With this objective in mind, the development of his subject is systematically carried out through the main problems. With the exception of the titles of the first two chapters, which concern the problem of knowledge, his own pertinent chapter headings may be cited to suggest the structure of his book. "About the Universe in Which We Live"; "About Ourselves as Persons"; "Free Will: Illusion or Reality?"; "What About God?"; "Good and Evil: The Paradox of the Universe"; "On Knowing God"; "What is Worth Living For?"; "What is Right to Do?"; "The Destiny of Man."

The author's discussion is appealing, not so much for a novel contribution in depth to a personalist metaphysics, as for the practical way he handles the issues in breadth by abundant and attractive illustrations, comprehensible to all and taken from life and reality in their qualitative and near-to-heart urgencies. Where Royce, Bowne, and other thinkers have developed these subjects more deeply from various epistemological premises, Bender's book carries on the work of applying personalism's message, and it will take its place among writings of this practical character. No less thoughtful or true, its aim is not to convert, so much as to instruct. It proceeds with that right sense of value which is centered in the wonder and finality of personal existence and the awareness of its source in Ultimate Personality. It seeks to interpret life and to answer common-place questions in an open-minded form but with the certainty that the answers must come from this quarter, if there are answers.

DOUGLAS STRATON

Scientific Autobiography and Other Papers. By MAX PLANCK. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. 192 pp. $3.75.

This is a collection and translation of five popular essays and addresses by the late pioneer in quantum theory. One lecture deals specifically with "re-

ligion and natural science"; otherwise the references to religion are incidental. Planck's philosophy of religion amounts to traditional theism with a strong Kantian flavor. All religion, according to Planck, is based on trust in a benevolent, omnipotent Providence, and belief in His objective reality. Both religion and science are engaged, from different starting points and with different methods, in a search for the absolute—science for absolute physical constants, religion for absolute values. Properly understood, there can be no conflict between them, but only mutual support. Science is concerned with knowledge, which is real (as against the Positivist view that it is an invention), but can never penetrate the unknowable essence of things. Religion is concerned with action and sentiment. The highest of all goods is conscientious performance of duty. Both religious faith and modern physics (the latter particularly in the principle of least action, which introduces teleology into physics) point to a cosmic Intellect as the ultimate Reality. Religion as a group expression requires *symbols*. Religious conflicts arise when symbols are invested with absolute validity. It must never be forgotten that they are of human origin, that they depend for their particular form on the social context in which they function, and that they point beyond themselves to a super-sensual Reality.

P. H. PHENIX

Recovery of Man. By F. R. BARRY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949, viii, 109 pp. $2.00.

A reaction is setting in among the theologians. They are beginning to see the one-sidedness of the neo-orthodox doctrine of man, and, using the insights into man's sinfulness, are showing that the Gospel is the good news of God's grace and man's ability to work for good. The crisis in the human soul described by Bishop Barry does not deny any of the sinfulness of man made evident in this past century, but he is enough of an historian to know that the Church has always prospered when it has found allies among other movements in the contemporary culture. The exclusive concerns of neo-orthodoxy have divorced it from relevance to the present scene. Those outside the Church who believe in "devotion to human interests" must be made allies of Christianity if human values are to survive, and this can be done only if the Humanists are brought to see the theological implications of their devotion to values.

Bishop Barry shows the relation between God and man. The individual man is capable of communion with God, which is the full meaning of personality. It is because man is made in God's image that he can sin, and therefore man's goodness is prior to sin and a precondition of man's power to sin. And by the power of God's grace the moral barrier between God and man is removed.

In order to provide the environment in which this is possible, the Church must work for a Christian State. This means that we need to see man as more than the citizen of a welfare state, for he also has a heavenly citizenship. Man lives today in an historical process in which God is at work. In all the relativities

of history, the Christian faith provides a "final," determinative and unique event. Other events do not explain the coming of Christ, but in Christ all other events are understood. Thus we need a more fully developed philosophy of history by which to understand the paradox of the absolute in time. Such a view will not eliminate tragedy or sin, but it will put these experiences in their proper perspective under the interpretative principle of the Incarnation. Thus history becomes a concrete reality in which God is at work, and thus the life of this world is played "for keeps" and is not an ante-chamber on the way to the Presence in the throne room.

This is a good book, in which the author is fully aware of the tragedy of these times. He is not deluded about the possibilities of man, but, at the same time, he keeps a balance that safeguards the Christian hope and leaves something for man to do in terms of "our vocation to that Kingdom which is God's reign in a restored creation." He achieves his purpose of spreading "that infection of good courage" and provides ammunition by which we can resist the "apathy, cynicism and despair" which are so often the social results of certain schools of theology today.

RANDOLPH CRUMP MILLER

The New Renaissance of the Spirit. By VINCENT A. MCCROSSEN. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. x, 252 pp. $3.00.

In the past twenty years of Christian discussion, the categories of *history* and *culture* have come to the fore again with a decisiveness and an urgency that represent, one feels, something really new in the development of post-Reformation thought, and one even wants to refer back to Augustine for an adequate parallel to many of the searching analyses that we have received from such recent Christian critics as Maritain and Dawson, Niebuhr and Tillich, Berdyaev and Toynbee. Contemporary Christian apologetics amply shows that many of our ablest Christian minds have, in their effort to bring Christianity into terms of coherence with a rational understanding of the modern world, not been attracted to the traditional problems of natural theology (or the philosophy of religion) but have rather sought to validate the Christian faith by demonstrating that it yields larger and deeper insights into the nature of man and historical existence than do its secular alternatives. This has been the strategy followed by the Protestant Niebuhr and the Catholic Maritain, and by many of the others whose names we naturally associate with these.

Now it is to this body of Christian writing, on the Catholic side, that Mr. McCrossen's book belongs, but let me rush on to say that it is probably the most ill-tempered and graceless example of the *genre* that we shall see in some time and will hardly win new friends, in spite of its presiding evangelical tone, for the author's cause.

But the stylistic infelicities in which the book abounds suggest something of its distinctive flavor, and one or two quoted sentences may be more revelatory

than further commentary of the reviewer. In the following sentence, which is really quite typical, the author juxtaposes the progenitors and apostles of the dawning "spiritual" order to the representatives of the "sensate" culture which is dying:

> For the rare Sorokins, Sainte Thérèses, Bernadettes, Lucias, Péguys, Dostoievskis, Werfels, Dulles, Pacellis there are legions of John Deweys, Whiteheads, Russels, Perrys, Beneses, Streits, Lavals, Wilsons, Lenins, Roosevelts, Hitlers, Stalins, Maurois, Ehrenburgs, Steinbecks, Hemingways, Marshal Fields, intent on building ephemeral worlds in terms of the primacy of life, things, sensations, pleasures, earthly wealth, power, force, cartels, economic blocs, financial ententes, international federations, Teutonic, Latin, Anglo-Saxon blood brotherhoods, Slav alliances, all doomed to failure to the degree that they do not rest on Christ, all jetsam in the irresistible current of the future, a basic change away from one type of civilization to an entirely different one.

Surely the obliquity of moral insight that could draw an equivalence between Whitehead and Hitler, between Roosevelt and Stalin, sufficiently invalidates itself as the perversest kind of nonsense to make unnecessary any such measured criticism as might grant it seriousness.

NATHAN A. SCOTT, JR.

The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church, and the Causes Which Hinder It. By RONALD ALLEN. London: World Dominion Press, 1949. vii, 220 pp. 5s.

In this fundamental consideration of the philosophy of modern foreign missions (first published in 1927), the author criticizes the missionary movement, with its ever increasing burden of expense and machinery and its comparatively small returns, propagating Western civilization as Christianity. Over against this complicated *organization,* he extolls what he calls the Apostolic method, and urges that, in each new group of Christians, a bishop and priests be appointed from amongst *them,* so that, from the start, it may be a self-supporting and self-developing Christian movement.

The book contains incisive and reasonable criticisms of missionary procedure, as pertinent now as when it was written, and deserves the careful consideration of church leaders.

GEORGE W. BRIGGS

AMONG THE PERIODICALS

Primitive Religions

The Religious Life of the Tziganes. By M. A. Moyal. *The Aryan Path,* xxii (1951), 62-65.

Dödens gåta ur primitiv synvinkel. By Arvid Wachtmeister. *Religion och Kultur,* xxi (1950), 200-4.

Die Splitterstämme Nördlich des Rudolfsees. By Elizabeth Pauli. *Annali Lateranensi,* xiv (1950), 61-92.

The Isneg Body and Its Ailments. By Morice Vanoverberg. *Annali Lateranensi,* xiv (1950), 193-293.

The Religion of the Santals. By Charulal Mukherjea. *The Aryan Path,* xxii (1951), 120-24.

Ancient Religions

Les avatars du dieu Dagon. By E. Dhorme. *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* cxxxviii (1950), 129-44.

The "Cretan" Maze in Europe and America. By Allan J. Stover. *Theosophical Forum,* xxix (1951), 119-23.

La metafisica di Anassagora. By C. Calvetti. *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica,* xlii (1951), 422-46.

Plotinus' Quest of Happiness. By Gaston Carrière, O.M.I. *The Thomist,* xiv (1951), 217-37.

Oriental Religions

The Yang and the Yin. By Allan J. Stover. *Theosophical Forum,* xxix (1951), 15-20.

The Lotus Medallions at Bharhut and Their Symbolism. By Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta. *The Maha Bodhi,* lviii (1950), 357-61.

Jataka Stories. Translated by I. B. Horner. *The Middle Way,* xxv (1950), passim.

The Doctrine of Self-Becoming. By Madeline Clark. *Theosophical Forum,* xxix (1951), 7-14.

Buddhist Studies in France. By S. Karpeles. *The Maha Bodhi,* lviii (1950), 382-85; lix (1951), 39-44.

Exposition of the Sacred Relics in Ladak. By M. R. Soft. *The Maha Bodhi,* lviii (1950); lix (1951), passim.

Ladak Number. *The Maha Bodhi,* lviii (1950), No. 12.

The Resurgent Dharma Sangha and the World-View. By Kenju Masuyama. *The Maha Bodhi,* lviii (1950), 389-92.

Dr. Ambedkar and Buddhism. By A. R. Kulkarni. *The Maha Bodhi,* lviii (1950), 338-46.

Data of the *Gandharva.* By Amiyanath Sanyal. *Visva-Bharati Quarterly,* xvi (1950), 130-38.

The Divine Dance of Nataraja. By P. Sama Rao. *Prabuddha Bharata,* LV (1950), 409-11, 452-55, 488-91.

The Avatara as Divinity. By Swami Ranganathananda. *Prabuddha Bharata,* LV (1950), 433-38.

The Guru Cult. By K. G. Mashruwala. *The Aryan Path,* XXI (1950), 531-40.

Sri Andal: The Divine Bride. By Swami Ritajananda. *Prabuddha Bharata,* LV (1950), 481-87.

Holy Mother Sarada Devi the Mystic. By Anthony Elenjimittam. *Vedanta Kesari,* XXXVII (1950), 290-94.

The Passing Away of Sri Aurobindo. *Vedanta Kesari,* XXXVII (1951), 354-56.

Through Forgotten Towns. By Adideva. *Vedanta Kesari,* XXXVII (1951), 342-45.

The Largest Religious Assembly in the World. By A Wanderer. *Prabuddha Bharata,* LVI (1951), 29-38.

Ideals and Aspirations of Indian Womanhood. By Mrs. C. K. Handoo. *Prabuddha Bharata,* LV (1950), 473-79.

India's Philosophic Burden. By Arthur E. Morgan. *The Humanist,* XI (1951), 11-15.

Reality of Realities. By Swami Satprakashananda. *Vedanta Kesari,* XXXVII (1950), 253-59.

La pureté rituelle en Islâm. By G.-H. Bousquet. *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* CXXXVIII (1950), 53-77.

The Value of Sufi Thought to the Western World. By C. R. Parry. *The Aryan Path,* XXII (1951), 27-31.

Judaism

The Origin of the Alphabet. By H. Tur-Sinai [Torcyner]. *Jewish Quarterly Review,* XLI (1950), 83-9, 159-79, 277-301.

I carmi alfabetici della Bibbia chiave della metrica ebraica? By T. Piatti. *Biblica,* XXXI (1950), 281-315, 427-58.

Early Hebrew Writing. By David Diringer. *Biblical Archaeologist,* XIII (1950), 74-95.

La "fede" nel profeta Isaia. By S. Virgulin. *Biblica,* XXXI (1950), 346-64, 483-503.

Some Recent Study of the Scrolls. By Floyd V. Filson. *Biblical Archaeologist,* XIII (1950), 96-100.

The Dead Sea Scrolls. An NBC Radio Discussion. *The University of Chicago Round Table,* No. 661 (Nov. 26, 1950).

Det senaste stora handskriftsfyndet i Palestina. By Joh. Lindblom. *Ny Kyrklig Tidskrift,* XX (1951), 1-10.

Final Verdict on the Scrolls? By Isaiah Sonne. *Journal of Biblical Literature,* LXX (1951), 37-44.

La "Règle" de la Communauté de la Nouvelle Alliance. By A. Dupont-Sommer. *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* CXXXVIII (1950), 5-21.

Quelques réflexions sur les documents de 'Aïn-Faṣḫa. By E. Cavaignac. *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* cxxxviii (1950), 152-59.

L'illustration de la Bible chez les Juifs. By J. Leroy. *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* cxxxviii (1950), 160-75.

Vilno and Jerusalem. By I. N. Steinberg. *The Reconstructionist,* xvi (1950), No. 16, 16-21.

The Rabbis of Prague. By Gutmann Klemperer. *Historia Judaica,* xii (1950), 33-66, 143-52; xiii (1951), 55-82.

Pierre Leroux's Ideas on the Jewish People. By Edmund Silberner. *Jewish Social Studies,* xii (1950), 367-84.

Indian-Jewish Statistics (1837-1941). By H. G. Reissner. *Jewish Social Studies,* xii (1950), 349-66.

Americans in Israel. By Ira Eisenstein. *The Reconstructionist,* xvi (1951), No. 19, 9-14.

Israel To-day and . . . To-morrow? By Hugh Jones. *World Dominion,* xxix (1951), 20-24.

The Religious Issue in Israel. By Jules Kolodny. *The Humanist,* xi (1951), 59-62.

Two Views on the Religious Problem in Israel. *The Reconstructionist,* xvi (1950), No. 17, 10-21.

Pioneer Nation, Not Chosen People. By Immanuel Lewy. *The Reconstructionist,* xvi (1950), No. 14, 24-27.

Judaism and Ethical Culture. By Immanuel Lewy. *The Reconstructionist,* xvi (1950), No. 16, 14-16.

"Stoop down to Your Wife." By Benjamin Wm. Mehlman. *The Reconstructionist,* xvi (1951), No. 20, 10-17.

A Proposal toward Ritual Revision. By Harold Shulweis. *The Reconstructionist,* xvii (1951), No. 1, 17-20.

Does It Look like a Synagogue? By Moses P. Halperin. *The Reconstructionist,* xvi (1951), No. 18, 18-22.

Marc Chagall—Jewish Painter. By Abraham Kampf. *The Reconstructionist,* xvi (1951), No. 18, 10-17.

The Renaissance of Jewish Music. By Saul Meisels. *The Reconstructionist,* xvi (1950), No. 13, 29-30.

Christianity: Historical

Evighetens port. En jämförelse mellan Buddhas och Jesu första budskap. By Åke V. Ström. *Ny Kyrklig Tidskrift,* xix (1950), 146-58.

The Origin of the Fourth Gospel. By Robert M. Grant. *Journal of Biblical Literature,* lxix (1950), 305-22.

Hippolyte de Rome. By B. Capelle, O.S.B. *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale,* xvii (1950), 145-74.

A Thessalian Thebaïd. By Peter Hammond. *Sobornost,* Series 3 (1950), 338-42.

Apocryphes bogomiles et apocryphes pseudo-bogomiles. By E. Turdeanu. *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* cxxxviii (1950), 22-52, 176-218.

Les Périodes et les Epoques de l'Histoire de l'Eglise. By O.-E. Strasser. *Revue d'histoire et de philosophies religieuses,* xxx (1950), 290-304.

Some Limits and Causes of the Centralization of the Church. By Edward A. Ryan, S.J. *Theological Studies,* xi (1950), 525-46.

La légation en Lombardie du cardinal Hugolin (1221). By Chr. Thouzellier. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* xlv (1950), 508-42.

S. Vincent de Paul et Abelly. By P. Debongnie. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* xlv (1950), 688-706.

Documenti sulla storia della Chiesa in Giappone. By Mario Marega. *Annali Lateranensi,* xiv (1950), 9-59.

Charakter der Sitzungen im Conzil von Florenz. By G. Hofmann, S.J. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* xvi (1950), 358-76.

La Chiesa e lo Stato nel cerimoniale d'incoronazione degli ultimi sovrani Rurikidi. By G. Olšr, S.J. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* xvi (1950), 267-302.

Moralistes de Russie. By S. Tyszkiewicz. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* xvi (1951), 377-439.

The Sources of Luther's Self-Despair in the Monastery. By John von Rohr. *Journal of Bible and Religion,* xix (1951), 6-11.

La charité dans la première théologie de Luther. By R. Weijenborg. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* xlv (1950), 617-69.

Luther et la liberté de conscience. By Joseph Lecler. *Recherches de science religieuse,* xxxvii (1950), 515-36.

Offer och mässoffer. By Carl-Martin Edsman. *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift,* xxvi (1950), 167-98.

Elevationen och korstecknet i svensk evangelisk tradition. By Sven Kjöllerström. *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift,* xxvi (1950), 286-301.

Protestant Colet and Catholic More: A Study of Contrast in the Use of Platonism. By Leland Weber Miles. *Anglican Theological Review,* xxxiii (1951), 29-42.

Quakerism and the End of the Interregnum. By James F. Maclear. *Church History,* xix (1950), 240-70.

These Baptists: Ignominiously Called Mad Men. By R. E. E. Harkness. *The Chronicle,* xiv (1951), 27-39.

Henry Scougal: Gentle Revolutionist. By Winthrop S. Hudson. *Crozer Quarterly,* xxviii (1951), 45-53.

A Traveller Writes Home. By Mabel Burdess. *Theology,* liii (1950), 379-83.

"Church and State in the United States." By Sidney E. Mead. *Religion in Life,* xx (1951), 36-46.

The Anglican Church in Maryland: Factors Contributory to the American Revolution. By Nelson Rightmyer. *Church History,* xix (1950), 187-98.

Force and Form: The Shaker Intuition of Simplicity. By JOHN M. ANDERSON. *Journal of Religion,* XXX (1950), 256-60.

A Review of American Religious Pacifism. By VERNON H. HOLLOWAY. *Religion in Life,* XIX (1950), 367-79.

The Row Heresy. By GEDDES MACGREGOR. *Harvard Theological Review,* XLIII (1950), 281-301.

CHRISTIANITY: CONTEMPORARY

A Survey of the Year 1950. By THE EDITORS. *International Review of Missions,* XXXIX (1951), 3-78.

Fascicolo dedicato alla enciclica "Humani Generis." *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica,* XLIII (1951), No. 1.

L'encyclique "Humani Generis" et la théologie. By FR. TAYMANS, S.J. *Nouvelle revue théologique,* LXXXIII (1951), 3-20.

L'encyclique "Humani Generis" et la philosophie. By A. HAYEN, S.I. *Nouvelle revue théologique,* LXXXIII (1951), 113-37.

L'encyclique "Humani Generis" et l'Écriture sainte. By G. LAMBERT, S.I. *Nouvelle revue théologique,* LXXXIII (1951), 225-43.

L'encyclique "Humani Generis" et les sciences naturelles. By G. VANDEBROEK and L. RENWART, S.I. *Nouvelle revue théologique,* LXXXIII (1951), 337-51.

Humani Generis and the Limits of Theology. By CYRIL VOLLERT, S.J. *Theological Studies,* XII (1951), 3-23.

The Assumption. (Special Number.) *The Thomist,* XIV (1951), No. 1.

The Assumption: A New Dogma. By GEORGES A. BARROIS. *Theology Today,* VII (1951), 444-57.

The New Dogma from an Eastern Orthodox Standpoint. By H. ALIVISATOS. *Ecumenical Review,* III (1951), 151-58.

The Devotion to the Mother of Christ in Catholic Spirituality. By W. NORMAN PITTENGER. *Anglican Theological Review,* XXXIII (1951), 71-81.

Les Écritures ont-elles un sens "plénier"? By GEORGES COURTADE. *Recherches de science religieuse,* XXXVII (1950), 481-99.

El Estado laico visto por un católico. By JOSEPH VIALATOUX. *Luminar,* IX (1949), No. 4, 7-14.

Aktuella evangeliska kyrkoproblem. By GUSTAF TÖRNVALL. *Ny Kyrklig Tidskrift,* XIX (1950), 33-42.

Dubbelbottnat herdabrev. *Religion och Kultur,* XXI (1950), 177-80.

Le problème des réfugiés: ses conséquences morales et religieuses. *Nouvelle revue théologique,* LXXXII (1950), 905-1008 (Special Number).

Advance in New Guinea. By G. H. CRANSWICK. *World Dominion,* XXIX (1951), 99-104.

The Revival Movement in Kenya. By LEONARD BEECHER. *World Dominion,* XXIX (1951), 29-34.

Religious Thought in Great Britain, 1900-1950. By E. L. ALLEN. *Religion in Life,* XX (1951), 203-13.

Congregationalism in the British Commonwealth. By SIDNEY M. BERRY. *Congregational Quarterly,* XXIX (1951), 12-17.

Quebec and Its Religious Problem. By CLAUDE DE MESTRAL. *Theology Today,* VII (1951), 492-502.

American Protestantism at the Mid-Century Mark. By PAUL HUTCHINSON. *Religion in Life,* XX (1951), 190-202.

Protestant Theological Positions Today. By GUSTAVE WEIGEL, S.J. *Theological Studies,* XXX (1950), 547-66.

Protestantism and the Ballot Box. By DAVID S. BURGESS. *Christianity and Society,* XVI (1951), 16-20.

Tent-makers. By W. O. CHADWICK. *Theology,* LIV (1951), 42-51.

Neo-Orthodoxy Goes to Kindergarten. By EDITH HUNTER. *Religion in Life,* XX (1951), 3-20.

The Spiritual Challenge of Communism to America. By NORMAN GERSTENFELD. *Current Religious Thought,* XI (1951), No. 2, 19-28.

The Christian Conscience and Weapons of Mass Destruction. *Current Religious Thought,* X (1950), No. 10, 19-28.

GENERAL THEORY OF RELIGION

Linguistic Philosophy and Dogmatic Theology. By MARGARET MASTERMAN. *Theology,* LIV (1951), 82-89.

Prospects for a Christian Philosophy. By DAVID E. ROBERTS. *Religion in Life,* XX (1951), 254-63.

The Problem of Immortality. By ERLAND EHNMARK. *Harvard Theological Review,* XLIV (1951), 1-23.

The Worship of the Absolute. By NICOL MACNICOL. *Hibbert Journal,* XLIX (1951), 137-45.

The Christian Imperative. By FLOYD H. ROSS. *Journal of Bible and Religion,* XIX (1951), 3-5.

Liberal Christianity. By W. R. INGE. *Hibbert Journal,* XLIX (1951), 128-36.

Règne de l'intimidation. By JEAN WALTER. *Foi et vie,* XLIX (1951), 48-57.

Escape from Reason. By HAROLD WEISBERG. *The Reconstructionist,* XVI (1950), No. 15, 17-24.

Escape from Reality. By MALCOLM H. BISSELL. *The Humanist,* X (1950), 261-66.

Twenty-Five Years in Philosophy. *The New Scholasticism,* XXV (1951), No. 1.

The Logic of Anti-Secularism. By JOHN I. DANIEL. *Christianity and Society,* XV (1950), 21-22.

Humanism and Ethical Culture. By JEROME NATHANSON. *The Humanist,* XI (1951), 49-52.

Humanism and the Ethical Movement in England. By H. J. BLACKHAM. *The Humanist,* XI (1951), 49-52.

After Humanism—What? By R. F. ALDWINCKLE. *Crozer Quarterly,* XXVIII (1951), 97-103.

After Humanism—Humanism. By M. C. Otto. *Crozer Quarterly,* XXVIII (1951), 104-15.

The Meaning of Contemporary Atheism. By Jacques Maritain. *Current Religious Thought,* X (1950), No. 4, 22-29.

Studies in American Personalism. By The Editor. *The Personalist,* XXXI (1950), 229-44, 341-51; XXXII (1951), 5-10.

The Doctrine of God in Personalism. By John A. Creaven, S.M.A. *The Thomist,* XIV (1951), 161-216.

Péguy et Bergson. By Ch. Guyot. *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses,* XXX (1950), 273-89.

Max Weber: His Religious and Ethical Background and Development. By Paul Honigsheim. *Church History,* XIX (1950), 219-39.

John Dewey's Humanism. By Edward W. Strong. *The Humanist,* X (1950), 203-7, 257-60.

L'Indifférence dans le Principe et Fondement des Exercises Spirituels de S. Ignace. By Roger Cantin. *Sciences ecclésiastiques,* III (1950), 114-45.

Eros och agape inom sexualmoralen. By Folke Holmström. *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift,* XXVI (1950), 233-49.

Goethe's "Urworte orphisch" in ihrer geschichtsphilosophischen Bedeutung. By Reinhard Schantz. *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte,* III (1951), 38-53.

Kierkegaard's Lehre von der Liebe. By Theodor W. Adorno. *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geisteschichte,* III (1951), 23-38.

El Existencialismo. *Luminar,* X (1951), No. 1.

Rabindranath and World Peace. By Sudhir Chandra Kar. *Visva-Bharati Quarterly,* XVI (1951), 253-64.

Die Wiedergeburt des Naturrechts. By Heinz-Horst Schrey. *Theologische Rundschau,* XIX (1951), 21-75.

Religion and Reconstruction of Society. By Swami Akhilananda. *Prabuddha Bharata,* LVI (1951), 120-28.

Pilgrimage to Assy—An Appraisal. By Richard James Douaire. *Liturgical Arts,* XIX (1951), 28-31, and Illustrations.

Publishers of Fine Books for over Four Centuries

An important new book for students of Church history

THE MAKING OF THE

Restoration Settlement

By the Rev.

ROBERT S. BOSHER, Ph.D.

General Theological Seminary

With a foreword by

NORMAN SYKES

This penetrating interpretation of the events that culminated in the ejection of the Puritans from the Church of England is an important contribution to the understanding of one of the great Protestant controversies.

Dr. Bosher has based his study on a re-examination of source materials and on extensive research, throwing new light on a turning point in ecclesiastical history: the Act of Uniformity. $5.00

At your bookstore

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

114 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 11

GREAT RELIGIOUS THINKERS OF OUR TIME

In this group of 6 fascinating little books Dr. E. L. Allen, Lecturer in Divinity at King's College, gives the reader penetrating insights into the thinking of 6 original and influential religious leaders of our time. CHRISTIAN HUMANISM is a guide to the thought of **Jacques Maritain;** FREEDOM IN GOD does the same office for **Nicholas Berdyaev;** CHRISTIANITY & SOCIETY reveals the thinking of **Reinhold Niebuhr;** THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD AND THE WORD OF GOD deals with the thought of **Karl Barth;** CREATION AND GRACE is an exposition of **Emil Brunner's** thinking; THE SELF & ITS HAZARDS is a guide to the thought of **Karl Jaspers.**

The outstanding characteristic of each little volume, besides its authenticity, is the brilliant expository style.

•

"Uncommonly useful little books . . . Brief, clear and discriminating. The author has done his work brilliantly well."—*The Christian World*

•

"Makes a real meeting with these powerful thinkers possible."—*The Observer*

•

"The series will undoubtedly serve a very real and very salutary purpose."—*Methodist Recorder*

HARD PAPER BOUND $1.25 each
Set of 6—$5.00

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY
Publishers
15 East 40th Street, Desk 239
New York 16, N. Y.
Expedite Shipment by Prepayment